D. E. from London
Part of TURKEY in EUROPE
Balgorod
Danube R.
Constantinople
BLACK SEA
Crim
Mt. Cauasse
Mingrelia
P. of TARTARY
GEORGIA
Part of PERSIA
CASPIAN SEA
Ieflis
Derbent
Eri van L.
Erivan
Sinope
Amasera
Amasia
Trapesont
Kasalmack R.
Sahabha
Oseman
Bursa
Amasia
Erzerum
Troja
Lemnos
Pergamus
L. Busaranda
NATOLIA
Philadelphia
Sardis
Ephesus
Laodicea
Caramania
Satalia
Tarsus
Aladulia
Kara R.
Taurus
Aleppo
Salt L.
Antioch
Scanderoon
Cyprus I.
Salina
Tripoli
Mt. Lebanon
Sidon
Tyre
Jaffa
Jerusalem
Damascus
Alexandria
Cairo
Part of AFRICA
Part of ARABIA PETREA
Part of ARABIA DESERTA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Rhodes I.
Candia I.
Part of the TURKISH Dominions in ASIA
TURCOMANIA
Mt. Ararat
Arzies
Van
Tecovan
Curdistan
Amedia
Orfa
Bir
Diarbeck
Mosul
Anna
Bagdad
Irack
Babel
Rehemat Lake
Bassora
Wasset
Ispahan
Aras R.
Tauris
Roumi Lake
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27
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A MAP of the WEST INDIA ISLANDS with part of the Continent
ATLANTIC OR WESTERN OCEAN
LUCAYOS OR BAHAMA ISLES
CARIBBEE ISLANDS
NORTH SEA
SOUTH SEA
TERRA FIRMA
AMAZONIA
CUBA
JAMAICA
Hispaniola
Puerto Rico
Guadalupe
Martinico
Barbadoes
Trinidad
Surinam
Guiana
Paria
Parima
Florida
Yucatan
Providence I.
Andaro
Bridge I.
Grenada
Tobago
Middleburg
Cayenne
Cape Orange
North Cape
Cape Florida
Cape Corrientes
Cape Catoche
Cape Antonio
Cape Gracias a Dios
Cape Honduras
Cape Tiburon
Cape Nicholas
Cape Passaro
Cape Blanco
Cape Vela
Cape de la Hacha
Cape St. Roman
Cape St. Augustin
Cape St. Vincent
Cape St. Antonio
Cape St. Mary
Cape St. Francis
Cape St. Thomas
Cape St. Lucia

AN INTRODUCTION TO, Or a SHORT DISCOURSE CONCERNING, UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

In TWO PARTS.

Faithfully compared with, and Done
(With ſome little Alterations)
From the Original of that Illuſtrious AUTHOR,

JAMES BENIGNE BOSSUET,
Biſhop of *MEAUX* and *CONDOM*,
And *Præceptor* to his Royal Highneſs the DAUPHIN.

Now Publiſhed
By *RICHARD SPENCER*, A. M.
Maſter of the School at TUNBRIDGE.

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BRITISH MUSEUM

THE PREFACE.

WHERE *Hiſtories, when publiſh'd, are as large and full in* Circumſtances, *as Univerſal in* Events *and Action, it cannot be amiſs, the better to recommend ſuch Works, to advance to the Publick ſuch Reaſons, as may evince us well the great Advantages and Neceſſity of knowing, as the Shame it muſt be to any Man of Senſe and Worth to be ignorant of,* Human-*Kind, and the more* memorable *Changes that have happen'd thro' the Succeſſion of* Time: *But ſuch* Prefaces *are ſo far from being the Concern of, that they would be ſo many Impertinences if found with,* Introductions to, *or* Short Diſcourſes *and Surveys of any* Univerſal *Subject; the great End of* ſuch, *and of* this *in particular, muſt lie in this, of ſhowing*

that there is nothing more neceſſary than, to have ſet before you at once, a View full, juſt, and exact, yet clear and diſtinct, and withal as contracted as poſſible, of the whole Series of Time, *or of ſuch a particular ſet Number of* Ages. *And for this Reaſon, leſt thoſe Hiſtories you have read, and thoſe you have yet to learn, ſhould work any Confuſion in your Mind.*

THIS Way of Univerſal *Hiſtory, being in regard to the Hiſtories of* each *Country and People, what a general Map is to the* particular *ones; in the* latter *you ſee only the Deſcription of one Kingdom, or Province, by itſelf; but in the* Univerſal *Map you learn how to ſituate thoſe Parts of the World in the* whole. *You ſee what* London *and the adjacent Parts are in the* Kingdom; *what the Kingdom is in* Europe, *and what* Europe *is in the* Univerſe. *So likewiſe* particular *Hiſtories repreſent to you, what things have happen'd to* ſuch *or* ſuch *a People, with all their* Circumſtances: *But to underſtand the whole clearly, you muſt know what relation every Hiſtory can have to others, which is done by ſuch a way as* this, *where, at one Glance of the Eye, as it were, you may ſee all the Order of* Time. *Such an Abridgement gives you a very great Sight; you ſee ſo many precedent Ages laid before you in a few Hours; you ſee how* Empires *have ſucceeded one the other; you ſee the exact Order and Event of whatſoever is moſt great and glorious amongſt Men, and ſo hold, as I may ſay, the* Thread *of all the Affairs of the* World. *And as, when you look upon an* Univerſal *Map, you may preſently go off from your own* Native *Country, and from the Place which bounds you; and, from thence running thro' all the habitable Earth, with all its Seas and Countries, you may give a great Entertainment to your Thoughts; ſo, by looking upon ſuch a* Chronological *Abridgement, you*

may

may go away from the narrow Confinements of your own Time, and extend your ſelf into all *Ages. But as, to help one's Memory in the Knowledge of* Places, *we muſt keep in our Minds certain* chief *Towns and Cities, round which we are to place all the reſt, according to their ſeveral* Diſtances; *ſo, in the order of* Ages, *we muſt remember certain* Times *memorable for ſome great* Event *and Action, to which we are to bring all the other. This we call an* Epocha, *from a* Greek *Word, that ſignifies* to pauſe upon; *becauſe we ſtay our ſelves there to conſider, as at a Place of* Reſt, *whatſoever has happen'd both before and ſince, and by that Means do avoid the* Anachroniſms, *that is to ſay, that ſort of* Error, *which makes the* Confuſion of Time.

WE muſt firſt fix upon but a ſmall Number of Epocha's, *or* (*according to* Chronologiſts) *the Continuance of the World in ſuch a ſet Number of* Epocha's *and* Ages; *ſuch be* Adam, *or the* Creation, *Age 1ſt.* Noah, *or the* Deluge, *Age 2d. The Call of* Abraham, *or the Beginning of God's* Alliance, *or* Covenant, *with Man, Age 3d.* Moſes *or the* Written Law, *Age 4th. The taking of* Troy. *Then* Solomon, *or the building of the* Temple, *Age 5th.* Romulus, *or the founding of* Rome. *Alſo* Cyrus, *or the People of God deliver'd from the Captivity of* Babylon, *Age 6th* Scipio, *or* Carthage *overcome. And then the* Nativity *of our bleſſed* Saviour, *or* Auguſtus's *Reign, Age 7th. Where I ſhall chuſe to ſtop and fix you, as at a Point the moſt conſiderable and ſufficient to explain and make clear* Antient *Hiſtory, and eſpecially that of the* Scriptures, *and the* Roman Claſſicks.

IT is ſufficient to keep to the Dates *here propoſed, as being the moſt plain and the moſt followed; therefore ſhall not oppreſs your Memory with an Account of the* Olym-

Olympiads, *tho' the* Grecians, *who make use of* that render them *necessary for the fixing of Times.*

AND when I recommend thus the Order *of Time, I do not pretend that you should scrupulously charge your Memory with all the* Dates; *much less that you should concern yourself with all the nice Disputes of the Chronologists, where, most an end, they differ but in a very few Years.——There is no question but that this contentious Chronology, which scrupulously is taken up about those small Matters, has its use; but that, which may perplex too much and render uneasy, is not so proper an Object of a* young *Mind, and is of little Service to enlighten a* great *One. It is enough that the Times where the* Dates *are important, have their fix'd Characters, appear most probable, as well as supported on sufficient Foundations; for, if it is not much the Matter of History either to take from, or to add to,* void *Age, where there is nothing to give account of, the Concern should not be great, whether, in the Supputation of Years made since the* Creation *down to* Abraham, *we join with that of the* LXX, *which makes the World older, or with the* Hebrew, *which makes it younger.*

SOME perhaps, may think that, in two Places, for the Word Passage *I should have put* Pass; *but, besides that* Passage *was the Word used in King* Charles *the Second's Time, and that 'tis the same Word used by our* Author *in the Original, such as will consult Mr.* Boyer's *Dictionary, will find that the* French *Language owns not yet such a Word as* Pass *in this Sense; therefore I chuse rather to use, with our* Author, *the Word* Passage *than* Pass; *or to go farther out of the Way for* Defilee, *tho' that may be the more modern Military Term.*

Memo-

Memorandum *was put* (p 37.) *rather than* Memoirs, *the better to expreſs the* Author's *Contempt of ſuch their imperfect Pieces, or rather Scraps, of the* Eaſtern *and* Perſian *Hiſtory.*

ONE Word too (p. 126, 153) *may want explaining, which is the Word* (Lute) *from the* Latin (Lucta); *and this being very comprehenſive, for which we have as yet no* Engliſh *Word, I took up with* that *of our* Author, *which tho' a Word well enough known in the* French; *yet, being but poorly explain'd by Mr.* Boyer, *and beſides liable to be miſtook for* (Lute) *a Muſical Inſtrument; tho' in* p. 126. *fair Hints, to a Scholar, if not Explanations of it, are already given, I ſhall here add, that by* (Lute p. 126.) *is meant that* Athletic *part of the Gymnick Exerciſes and* Paleſtræ, *which* Lucian, *in the perſon of* Anacharſis, *expoſes, and* Theon Alexandrinus, Galenus, Hieron: Mercurialis, *and* Gerh. Voſſius *ſo much condemn, as being* vitioſa pars Gymnaſticæ, *the vitious, or faulty Part,* &c.— *Of this* (*the* Lucta) *ſee an Account in my* Prolegomena *to* Terence. *Edit.* 1731.

AND then as to our Author, *we may ſafely ſay that his Learning, Judgment, and Accuracy in* Hiſtory *and* Chronology *are ſuch as need neither Advocate, nor Apology. No! he, that was ſo much eſteemed in his own Days, and admired in theſe, muſt be ſuperior to any* Elogium *that might now be offered; and, indeed, ſo great have been the Acknowledgements and Thanks, which the Polite, the learned and Judicious have already made, and continue to pay, to his* Merit, *that theſe his* Introductions *to, or* Diſcourſes *concerning, Univerſal Hiſtory, have, in the* French, *received the Encouragement of, at leaſt, the* Eleventh *Edition.*

WHEN

WHENEVER he differs in Opinion from others, whether Ancients, or Moderns, he takes care to apprize his Pupil wherein, *and for* what Reasons *he doth it. This we may be sure of, that, in those his Dissents from others, he has the great Archbishop* Usher *with him, whose Annals of the* Old *and* New Testament, *we are assured by the learned Dean* Prideaux, *are the* exactest and most perfect Work of this Kind; *as also that* his Judgment must be of the greatest Weight in such Matters.

AN

AN

INTRODUCTION

TO,

Or a SHORT

DISCOURSE

CONCERNING,

UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

I. Epocha. Adam, *or the Creation.*

1. *Age of the World.*

THE First *Epocha* will immediately present you with a most wonderful Sight. *God*, who created the Heavens and the Earth by the Word of his Power, and made Man after his own Image. It is with *this Moses* begins, *Moses* the most ancient of Historians, the most sublime of Philosophers, and the wisest of Legislators.

Years before J. C. 4004

He makes this the Foundation as well of his Hiſtory, as of his Doctrine, and Laws. Afterwards he ſhews us how all Men were ſhut up in one, and even his Wife to proceed from himſelf; then he comes to the Concord of Marriages, and the Society of Mankind eſtabliſhed upon this Foundation; the Perfection and Power of Man, how much he bore of the Image of God in his whole Man; his Empire over all Creatures; his Innocency, together with his Felicity in the Garden of *Eden*, the Memory of which is conſerv'd in the *Golden Age* of the Poets; the Divine Precept given to our firſt Parents; the Malice of the Tempting Spirit, and his Appearance under the Form of a Serpent; the Fall of *Adam* and *Eve*, moſt diſmal to all their Poſterity; the firſt Man juſtly puniſhed in all his Children, and Mankind curſed by God; the firſt Promiſe of Redemption, and the future Victory of Man over the Devil, who had thus depraved him.

Years of the World. I.

3875. *Gen.* v. 3, 4.

The Earth began to fill, and Crimes increaſed. *Cain*, the firſt born of *Adam* and *Eve*, ſhewed to the early World the firſt Tragical Action; and Virtue began then to be perſecuted by Vice. There appeared the contrary Tempers of the two Brothers; the Innocence of *Abel*, his Paſtoral Life, and his acceptable Sacrifices, thoſe of *Cain* rejected, his Avarice, Impiety, Parricide, and Envious Jealouſie, the *Parent* of Murthers; the Puniſhment of that Crime; the Conſcience of the Parricide diſturbed with continual Fears; the firſt Town built by this wicked Man, who ſought out for himſelf an *Aſylum* againſt

129.

Years before J. C. / Years of the World.

against the Hatred and Horror of Mankind; the Invention of Arts by his Children; the Tyranny of Passions, and the prodigious Malignity of Man's Heart always carried out to Evil; the Posterity of *Seth* faithful to God, notwithstanding this Depravation: Pious *Enoch* miraculously taken
3017. out of the World, that was not worthy to 987
enjoy him; the distinction of the Children of *God* from the Children of *Men*, that is to say, of those who lived according to the *Spirit*, from them who lived after the *Flesh*; their Commixture, and the universal Corruption of the World; the Ruin of Men
2468. resolved by a just Judgment from God; his 1536
Wrath declared to Sinners by his Servant *Noah*; their Impenitence, and their Obdu-
2348. racy at last punished by the *Deluge*; *Noah* 1656
and his Family preserved for the repairing of Mankind.

This is what fell out in 1656 Years. Such is the Beginning of History, in which is manifested the Almightiness, Wisdom, and Goodness of God; the happy Innocence under his Protection; his Justice in revenging Crimes; and, at the same time, his Patience, and waiting to be gracious, in staying for the Conversion of Sinners; the Greatness and Dignity of *Man* in his first Institution; the *Genius* of Mankind since it was corrupted; the Nature of Jealousie, and the secret Causes of Violences and Wars, that is to say, all the Foundations of Religion and Morality.

With Mankind *Noah* preserved the Arts, as well those which served for the Subsistence

Years before J. C. of Humane Life, and which Men knew from their firſt being, as thoſe they had ſince invented. Thoſe firſt Arts which Men learn'd *ob origine*, and apparently from their *Creator*, are Agriculture, the Paſtoral Art, that of cloathing themſelves, and it may be too that of Building, and making Lodgings for their Security. Thus we ſee the beginning of theſe Arts in the *Eaſt*, in *thoſe Places* from whence Mankind is ſince ſcattered. *Years of the World.*

Gen. ii. 15. iii. 17, 18, 19. iv. 2. *Ib.* iv. 2. *Ib.* iii. 21.

The Tradition of the Univerſal *Deluge* has gone thro' all the Earth. The *Ark*, in which *Noah* and his Family were preſerved, hath been ever celebrated in the *Eaſt*, and chiefly in thoſe Places where it ſtaid after the Flood. There are divers other Circumſtances of this moſt excellent Hiſtory taken particular notice of in the Annals and Traditions of the *ancient* People: all the Particularities of Time, and every thing elſe concurring, as much as poſſibly can be expected in ſo remote and diſtant an Antiquity.

II. Epocha. *Noah, or the Deluge.*

2. *Age of the World.*

2348 2347 2247

After the Flood is obſervable the ſhortning of Man's Life, and a Change and Alteration of the way of living, and a new Nouriſhment ſubſtituted inſtead of the Fruits of the Earth; ſome Precepts given to *Noah* only *viva voce*, the Confuſion of Tongues at the Tower of *Babel*, the firſt Monument, and Mans Weakneſs; the Diviſion of *Noah*'s three Sons, and the firſt Diſtribution of Lands. 1656. 1657. 1757.

The

Years before J. C. The Memory of the *three first* Authors of Nations and People is preserved among Men. *Japhet*, who peopled the greatest part of the West, continues there in great Veneration, under the Name of *Japhet*. *Cham* and his Son *Canaan* have been no less known among the *Egyptians* and *Phœnicians*; and the Memory of *Shem* has been always held sacred among the *Hebrews* who came from him. Years of the World

A little after this first Division of Mankind, *Nimrod*, a fierce Man and Hunter, became from that his violent Temper the first of Conquerors, and form'd a Kingdom at *Babylon*, in the same place where the Tower was begun, and had been carried up to a strange height, but yet it seems not up to that Stature the Vanity of Man had intended and desired it. Round about it, and not long after, *Nineveh*, and some other ancient Kingdoms were settled. These were but small (being little more than single Cities and some small Dependences) in those first and early Times: Hence we find from the first accounts of *Egypt* four *Dynasties*, or Principalities, therein; that of *Thebes*, that of *Tine*, that of *Memphis*, and that of *Tanis*, which was the chief of *Lower Egypt*. To much about this Time may be referr'd the beginning of the *Laws* and *Polities* of the *Egyptians*; that of their *Pyramids*, which remain to this Day; and that of the *Astronomical Observations* of as well those People, as of
2233. the *Chaldeans*. We may likewise bring up 1771.
to about this time, and no higher, the Observations, which the *Chaldeans* (who, or the *Egyptians*, were without dispute the first

Gen. x. 9. 10, 18.

Porphyr. ap Simp. l. ii. de Cœlo

Years before J. C. Observers of the Stars) gave, in *Babylon*, to *Calisthenes*, for the Use of *Aristotle*. *Years of the World.*

Every thing begins: There is no ancient History wherein there appears not, as well a long time after, as in these first Times, some manifest *Vestigia* of the newness of the World. We see Laws were to be made and established, Manners to be amended, and Empires to be formed. Mankind coming out by degrees from Ignorance; Experience instructs them, and Arts are either invented or perfected. As Men multiplied, the Land became populous, and Inhabitants came to live nearer to one another; afterwards, for want of more Room, Mountains and Precipices were passed over; Rivers cross'd, and, at last, the Seas; thus Men made themselves new *Settlements*. The Earth, which in the Beginning was but a wild Forest, now took another Form; the grubb'd up Trees gave way to Fields, Pasturages, Hamlets, Boroughs, and, at length, to Cities. They began then to have the Art and Cunning of taking some kind of Beasts, of taming others, and bringing them up to Labour and Service. At first, they were used to engage and fight with wild Beasts. The first *Heroes* made themselves signal in these sort of Exercises. This gave occasion to the inventing of Arms, which afterwards Men turned one against another: Hence *Nimrod*, the first Warrior and first Conqueror, is call'd in Scripture a mighty Hunter. But Man's Wit stopt not here at the Art and Skill of managing *Beasts*, and of reducing *Metals* to Use; he soon found out also how to bring up Plants, and to improve and ripen Fruits.

Gen. x. 9.

And

Years before J. C. And as it was but natural, that Time ſhould invent and find out a great many things, ſo likewiſe Time made ſeveral other things be forgot, at leaſt to moſt Men. The firſt Arts, which *Noah* had preſerved, and which are always kept up in ſome Countries, where ever there is a firſt Eſtabliſhment of Mankind, *that is to ſay, in new Plantations*, theſe are loſt proportionably, as they are diſtant from that Country. For either they muſt be learned over again with time, or elſe thoſe, who had preſerved them, muſt carry them over to thoſe others. Wherefore we ſee all things to come from Lands that have been always inhabited, where the Grounds and Foundations of Arts remain in their Perfection, and there alſo is to be learned, every day, things very conſiderable. The Knowledge of God, and the Remembrance of the Creation was preſerved there; but it did daily degenerate, and grow weaker and weaker. The ancient Traditions were either quite forgot, or, at leaſt, obſcure and dim: The Fables and Stories, that have ſucceeded them, retain'd only the groſs Ideas of them: Falſe Deities multiplied and became more numerous, and that gave occaſion to the calling of *Abraham*. Years of the World.

III. Epocha. *The Call of Abraham.* Four hundred twenty ſix Years after the *Deluge*, as every Body walked after their own ways, and never were mindful of that *God*, that made them, this great *Creator*, to hinder the Progreſs of ſo abominable a Wickedneſs, began to ſet apart to himſelf a choſen People. *Abraham* was elected to

3 *Age of the World.* 1921. 2083.

Years before J. C. be the Father of the Faithful: God called him into the Land of *Canaan*, where he reſolved to eſtabliſh his Worſhip, and to ſettle the Children of that bleſſed Patriarch, whom, he ſaid, he would multiply as the Stars of Heaven, and as the Sand on the Sea-ſhore. To the Promiſe, that he made of giving this Land to his Poſterity, he join'd another far more great and illuſtrious, and that was that mighty Bleſſing, which was to extend to all the People of the World in *Jeſus Chriſt* coming forth from *his* Off-ſpring. This was that *Jeſus Chriſt* whom *Heb.* vii. 1, 2, 3, *&c.* *Abraham* honoured, in the Perſon of the great High-Prieſt *Melchiſedeck*, unto whom in his returning from the ſlaughter of Kings, he gave the tenth of the Spoils, which he had got, and by whom he was bleſt. In the midſt of theſe vaſt Riches, and of a Power commenſurate to that of Kings, *Abraham* ſtill kept to his old Ways and Cuſtoms, he ever led a plain, ſimple, and paſtoral Life, which yet had its due Magnificence, and the Patriarch made it principally appear in his generous Hoſpitality to all People. Heaven at laſt was pleaſed to ſend him Gueſts; the Angels revealed to him the Counſels of God; he believed them, and appeared in all things full of Faith and Piety.

Years of the World.

2156 2148

In his time *Inachus*, the moſt ancient of all Kings known by the *Grecians*, founded the Kingdom of *Argos*. After *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, his Son, and *Jacob*, his Grandſon, were the Imitators and Followers of his Faith and Simplicity in the ſame paſtoral Life. God did alſo to them reiterate the ſame Promiſes

Years before J. C. | Years of the World.

misses he had made to *Abraham* their Father; and, as he had done him, he conducted them in all things. *Isaac* blessed *Jacob*, to the prejudice, as well as grief, of *Esau* the elder Brother; and, deceived in appearance, in effect and reality he executes the Counsels and Determinations of God. *Jacob*, whom God protected, was in all things to be preferred to *Esau*. An Angel, which whom he mysteriously fought, gave unto him the Name of *Israel*, from whence his Posterity were called *Israelites*. From his Loins came the twelve Patriarchs, *Fathers* to the Twelve Tribes of the *Hebrew* People; among others *Levi*, from whom issued the Ministers of sacred things; *Judah*, from whom came *CHRIST*, the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords; and *Joseph*, whom *Jacob* loved above all the rest of his Children. In him were made manifest some new Secrets of Providence: but above all things was seen the Innocence and Wisdom of young *Joseph*, who was always an utter Enemy to Wickedness and Vice, and careful to repress and hinder it in his Brethren; his Mysterious and Prophetick Dreams; his Brethren jealous, and this envious Jealousy

1752 — 2245

1728 twice the Cause of a Parricide; the selling of 2276
this their Great Brother; his Fidelity to his Master, and his most admirable Chastity; the dangerous Calamities it brought upon him;
1717 his Prison, and his Constancy; his Predi- 2287
ctions; his miraculous Deliverance; that
1715 famous Interpretation of *Pharaoh*'s Dreams; 2289
the Desert of so great a Man requited; his *Genius* elevated and fitted for his Place; and

God's

Years before J. C. / *Years of the World.*

God's Protection, which made him to rule where-ever he was; his Foreſight; his wiſe Counſels, and his abſolute Power in the Kingdom of the *Lower-Egypt*; and thus, by his means, the ſafety of his Father *Jacob* and his Family. This Family, cheriſhed by God, was thus ſettled and eſtabliſhed in that part of *Egypt* whereof *Tanis* was the Capital, and of which the Kings took

1706. / 2298.

1689. the Name of *Pharaoh*. *Jacob* dies, and, a little before his Death, he delivers his moſt celebrated Prophecy, where diſcovering to his Sons, the Patriarchs, the State of their Poſterity, he particularly points out to *Judah* the time of the *Meſſiah*'s coming into the World, who was to proceed from *his* Race. This Patriarch's Houſhold became a very great People in a little time; and this prodigious increaſe and multiplying raiſed the *Egyptians* Jealouſy: The *Hebrews* are unjuſtly hated, and without any

2315.

1571. Pity perſecuted: God raiſes up *Moſes* their Deliverer, whom he preſerved from the River *Nilus*, and made him fall into the Hands of *Pharaoh*'s Daughter: She brought him up as her own Child, and inſtructed him in all the Wiſdom of the *Egyptians*. At that time the People of *Egypt* ſettled themſelves in ſeveral Places of *Greece*. The

2433.

1556. Colony, that *Cecrops* brought out of *Egypt*, founded twelve Cities, or rather Towns, of which he made the Kingdom of *Athens*, and eſtabliſhed, with the Laws of his Country, the Gods that were to be worſhipped there. A little after happened the *Deucalion*-Flood in *Theſſaly*, confounded by

2448.

Marm. Arund. ſeu Æra Att.

the

Years before J. C. | Years of the World.

the *Greeks* with the Universal *Deluge*. *Hellen*, the Son of *Deucalion*, reigned in *Phtie*, a Country in *Theſſaly*, and gave his Name to *Greece*. The People, which before were called *Greeks*, ever ſince have born the Name of *Hellenes*, tho' the *Latins* have called them by their old Name. Moreover, about this time *Cadmus*, the Son of *Agenor*, tranſported into *Greece* a Colony of *Phœnecians*, and founded the City of *Thebes*, in *Bœotia*. The *Syrian* and *Phœnician* Gods came along with him into *Greece*. In the mean while

1531. *Moſes* grew up in years; and, about the Fortieth of his Age, he deſpiſed the Riches of the Court of *Egypt*, and, touched with the Wickedneſs of his Brethren the *Iſraelites*, to appeaſe and moderate them, he ventured his own Life. But theſe Men were ſo far from receiving any Benefit by his Zeal and Courage, that they expoſed him to the Fury of *Pharaoh*, who was reſolved on his Ruin. *Moſes* flies out of *Egypt* into *Arabia*, to the Land of *Midian*, where his Virtue, which was always ready to relieve the oppreſſed, made him find a ſafe Retreat. 2473.

1491. This Great Man, without any hopes of delivering his People, or expectation of better Times, had ſpent forty Years in keeping the Flock of *Jethro*, his Father-in-Law; when he ſaw in the Deſert a burning Buſh, and heard the Voice of the God of his Fathers, who ſent him back into *Egypt*, to bring forth his Brethren, the Children of *Iſrael*, out of Captivity. There appeared the Humility, Courage, and Miracles of that Divine Legiſlator; the Hardneſs of *Pharaoh's* 2513.

Years before J. C. raoh's Heart, and the terrible Plagues which God sent upon him; the *Paſſover*, and the next day, the Paſſing over the *Red Sea*: *Pharaoh* and the *Egyptians* drowned in thoſe Waters, and the abſolute Deliverance of the *Iſraelites*. *Years of the World*

IV. Epocha. *Moſes, or the Written Law.* The Time of the Written Law now begins. It was given to *Moſes*, Four hundred and thirty Years after the Calling of *Abraham*, Eight hundred fifty ſix Years after the *Flood*, and the ſame Year that the *Hebrew* People came out of *Egypt*. This Date is very obſerveable, becauſe it is very uſeful for deſignating the whole Time that has elapſed ever ſince *Moſes* unto *Jeſus Chriſt*. All this Time is called *the Time of the Written Law*, to diſtinguiſh it from the precedent Time, which is called *the Time of the Law of Nature*, wherein Men had only, for their Guide and Rule of Governance, Natural Reaſon, and the Traditions of their Anceſtors. God then having freed his People from the Tyranny of the *Egyptians*, and brought them into the Land where he deſigned to be ſerved and worſhipped, before ever he eſtabliſhed 'em there, he propoſed to them the *Law*, according to which they were to live. He wrote with his own Hand upon two Tables of Stone, which he delivered to *Moſes*, upon the top of Mount *Sinai*, the Foundation of this Law, that is, the *Decalogue*, or the Ten Commandments, which contain the firſt Principles how God is to be worſhipped, and humane Society preſerved. He dictated to the ſame *Moſes* the other

1491. 2513.

Years before J. C. other Precepts, by which he eſtabliſhed the *Tabernacle*, the Figure of the future *Temple*; the *Ark*, wherein God diſcovered himſelf to be preſent by his *Oracles*, and in which the Tables of the *Law* were kept; the Advancement of *Aaron*, the Brother of *Moſes*, the *High-Prieſt*, the Ceremonies of their Conſecration, and the Form of their myſterious Habits, the Prieſts Functions, thoſe of the *Levites*, with the other Obſervances of Religion; and, what is moſt beautiful and decent, the Rules of good Manners, the Polity and Government of his choſen People, of whom he would be himſelf the *Legiſlator*. This is what is obſerveable in the *Epocha* of the *written* Law. Afterwards, we ſee the Journey continued in the Wilderneſs; the Revolts, the Idolatries, the Puniſhments and Conſolations of the People of God, whom this Almighty *Legiſlator* reduced by theſe means by degrees: the Anointing of *Eleazor* the High-Prieſt, and the Death of his Father *Aaron*: the Zeal of *Phineas*, the Son of *Eleazor*, and the Prieſthood ſecured to his Poſterity by a particular Promiſe. During this time the *Egyptians* continue the Eſtabliſhment of their Colonies in divers Places, chiefly in *Greece*, where *Danaus*, the *Egyptian*, was made King of *Argos*, and diſpoſſeſs'd the ancient Kings, that came from *Inachus*. Towards the end of the *Iſraelites* journying in the Wilderneſs, we ſee the Beginnings of Wars, which are rendered ſucceſsful through the Prayers of *Moſes*. But he dies, and leaves to the *Iſraelites* their whole

Heb. ix. 9, 23.

Years of the World

1452. 2552.

1451. 2553.

Years before J. C. *Years of the World.*

whole History, which he had carefully digested from the beginning of the World even to the time of his Death. This History is continued by the command of *Joſuah*, and his Succeſſors. This afterwards was divided into ſeveral Books; and hence it is that we have the Book of *Joſuah*, the Book of *Judges*, and the four Books of *Kings*. The History, which *Moſes* wrote, and in which all the Law was included, was alſo divided into Five Books, which are called the *Pentateuch*, and which are the Ground of Religion. After the Death of that Man
1445. of God, we read of the Wars of *Joſuah*, 2559.
the Conqueſt and Diviſion of the *Holy Land*,
and the Rebellions of the People puniſhed
1405. and re-eſtabliſhed at divers times. There 2599.
1325. are likewiſe the Victories of *Othoniel*, the Son 2679.
of *Kenaz*, the Brother of *Caleb*, who delivered them from the Tyranny of *Chuſan-*
1322. *Riſhthaim*, King of *Meſopotamia*; and, eighty 2682.
Years after that, *Ehud*, the Son of *Gera*, did the ſame by ſtabbing *Eglon*, King of *Moab*. About this time *Pelops*, the *Phrygian*, and Son of *Tantalaus*, reigned in *Peloponneſus*, and called that famous Country by his Name. *Bel*, the King of the *Chaldeans*, received from
1305. thoſe People Divine Honours. The ungrate- 2699.
ful, murmuring *Iſraelites* fall again into Ser-
1285. vitude. *Jabin*, King of *Chanaan*, ſubjecteth 2719.
them; but *Deborah*, the Propheteſs, who judged the People, and *Baruc*, the Son of *Abinoam*, overcame *Siſera*, the General of that King's Army. Thirty Years after this,
1245. *Gideon*, that mighty Man of Valour, even 2759.
without fighting, purſues and overcomes the *Midianites*.

Years before J. C. | Years of the World.

Midianites. *Abemelech*, his Son, uſurped the Authority by the Murder of his Brethren, exerciſed it after a tyrannical Manner, and
1236. 1187. at laſt loſeth it and his Life together. *Jephtha* makes his Victory bloody by a Sacrifice, that was not to be excuſed but by a ſecret Order and Diſpenſation from Heaven; concerning which it hath not pleaſed the *Almighty* to reveal any thing to us. In this Age there happen'd very remarkable things among the *Gentiles*. For, according to *Herodotus*, whoſe Account ſeems to be the moſt
Herod. l. 1. *c.* 26. 1267. exact, about the time 514. years before
Gen. x. 11. *Rome*, or the time of *Deborah*, was *Ninus*, the Son of *Bel*, and the Foundation of the *firſt* Empire of the *Aſſyrians*. The Court was eſtabliſhed at *Niniveh*, an ancient City, and then famous; but it was made more ſplendid and glorious by *Ninus*. Thoſe, who aſcribe 1300 Years to the *firſt Aſſyrians*, have their Foundation from the Ancientneſs of the City: and *Herodotus*, who allows them but 500, ſpeaks only of the Empire's Duration ſince it's Beginning under *Ninus*, the Son of *Bel*, to extend itſelf into the Upper *Aſia*. A little After, and
Joſ. xix. 20. in that Conqueror's Reign, we are to fix the Foundation, or the Rebuilding of the
Joſeph. Ant. 8. 2. ancient City of *Tyre*, whoſe Navigation, and whoſe Colonies rendered it ſo conſiderable. Alſo, a little after *Abimelech*'s Time,
1252. we meet with the memorable Combates of *Hercules*, the Son of *Amphytrion*; and thoſe of *Theſeus*, King of *Athens*, which latter made but one great City of the twelve Towns of *Cecrops*; and inſtituted a better Form of

2768. 2817. 2737 2752.

Government

Years before J. C. Government among the *Athenians*. During *Jephtha*'s time, while *Semiramis*, Widow of *Ninus*, was enlarging the *Assyrian* Empire by her Victories, the famous City of *Troy*, which had been taken by *Hercules* and the *Greeks*, in the Reign of *Laomedon*, its third King, was again utterly reduced and razed by the *Greeks*, and unhappy *Priam*, Son of that *Laomedon*, slain, after a Siege of ten Years. *Years of the World.*

1184. 2820.

V. Epoch. *The taking of* Troy. This *Epocha* of the Ruin of *Troy*, which happened about the year 308. after the Departure out of *Egypt*, and 1164 years after the *Deluge*, is very considerable, as well because of the Importance of so great an Event, celebrated by two of the greatest Poets of *Greece* and *Italy*; as because that to this Date every thing may be brought which was most remarkable in those called *the Fabulous*, or *Heroick Times*; the *Fabulous*, by reason of the Fables in which the Histories of those Times are wrapt; and *Heroick*, by reason of those, whom the Poets have called the *Sons* of the *Gods*, and *Heroes*. Their Lives were not far from this Overthrow; for in the time of *Laomedon*, Father of *Priam*, were all the *Heroes* of the *Golden Fleece*, *Jason*, *Hercules*, *Orpheus*, *Castor* and *Pollux*, and all others that are known to you; and in the time of *Priam* likewise, during the last Siege of *Troy*, there were *Achilles*, *Agamemnon*, *Menelaus*, *Ulysses*, *Hector*, *Sarpedon*, the Son of *Jupiter*, *Æneas*, the Son of *Venus*, whom the *Romans* gloried in as their *Founder*: then lived also several

4. Age of the World.

1184. 2820.

Years before J. C. | Years of the World.

ral others, from whom the most illustrious Families, and even whole Nations boast that they descend. This *Epocha* therefore is proper to recollect whatsoever the *Fabulous* Times had that was most certain and most eminent. But what is seen in the *Sacred* History, is, in all Points most remarkable; the prodigious Strength of *Samson*, and likewise his marvellous Weakness; *Eli* the High-Priest, venerable by his Piety, and unhappy by the Guilt of his Sons; *Samuel* an irreproachable Judge, and a Prophet chosen by God to anoint *Kings*; *Saul*, the first King of God's People, his Victories, his Presumption to sacrifice without the Priests; his Disobedience, weakly excus'd under the Pretence of Religion; his Reprobation, his fatal Fall. About this time *Codrus*, King of *Athens*, gave up himself to Death for the safety of his People; and by his Death they got the Victory. His Sons, *Medon* and *Nileus*, dispute for the Kingdom. Upon this occasion the *Athenians* abolish all regal Power, and declare that *Jupiter* was their only King. They created Governours, or *perpetual Presidents*; but these were subject to render an account of their Administration. These Magistrates were call'd *Archontes*. *Medon*, the Son of *Codrus*, was the first who exercis'd this Magistracy; and it continued a long while in his Family. The *Athenians* extended their Colonies into that part of Lesser *Asia*, which was call'd *Ionia*. The *Æolick* Colonies were settled, much about the same time, and all the Lesser *Asia* was fill'd with *Greek* Towns.

1117. 2887.
1116.
1095. 2888.
2909.

Years before J. C. 1055. After *Saul* came *David*, that admirable Shepherd, the Conqueror of the fierce Goliah, and of all the Enemies of the People of God; a great King, a great Conqueror, and a great Prophet, worthy to ſing out the Praiſes and wonderful Works of his great Creator: in a word, a Man after God's own Heart, as he himſelf ſtiles him, and who, by his Repentance, did even turn his Offences to the Glory of his Maker. To this pious Warriour ſucceeded his Son *Solomon*, wiſe, juſt, peaceful, whoſe Hands, undefil'd with Blood, were accounted worthy to build the Temple of God.

Years of the World. 2949. 1034. 2970. 1014. 2990. 1012. 2992.

VI. Epocha. *Solomon, or the Temple finiſh'd. 5. Age of the World.* This was about the Year 3000. of the World, the year 488. after the Departure out of *Egypt*, and, to adjuſt the Times of Sacred Hiſtory with thoſe of the Profane, 180 Years after the taking of *Troy*, 250 Years before the Founding of *Rome*, and 1004 Years before *Jeſus Chriſt*, when *Solomon* finiſh'd that ſtupendious Edifice. He celebrated the Dedication of it with an extraordinary Piety and Magnificence: And this famous Action was follow'd with ſeveral other Wonders of the Reign of *Solomon*, which ended in ſhameful Weakneſſes. He gave up himſelf to the Love of Women, which debas'd his Mind, made his Heart grow wavering, ſo that, at laſt, his Piety degenerated into Idolatry. God, tho' juſtly provok'd, yet ſpares him for the ſake of *David* his Servant; however he would not ſuffer his Ingratitude utterly to go unpuniſh'd: he divides his Kingdom, after his death,

1004. 3000. 1003. 3001.

Years before J. C. 975. death, under his Son *Rehoboam*. The brutiſh Pride of that young Prince cauſes ten of his Tribes to be cut off from him, which *Jeroboam* ſeparated from their God, and from their King. For fear, leſt they ſhould return to the Kings of *Judah*, he forbids them going to ſacrifice at the Temple of *Jeruſalem*, and he ſets up his golden *Calves*, to which he aſcribes the Name of the God of *Iſrael*, that ſo the Innovation might appear leſs ſtrange. The ſame Reaſon made him retain the Law of *Moſes*, which he interpreted according to his own Will and Pleaſure: but almoſt all the Polity of it he caus'd to be obſerv'd, as well the Civil, as Religious; ſo that the *Pentateuch* remain'd ſtill in Veneration among the *ſeparated* Tribes. Years of the World. 3329.

Thus was the Kingdom of *Iſrael* ſet up againſt the Kingdom of *Judah*. In that of *Iſrael* Impiety and Idolatry reign'd and triumph'd. But Religion, tho' it was ſeveral times clouded in that of *Judah*, yet it was always preſerv'd there. About this
971. time the Kings of *Egypt* were very powerful. The four Kingdoms had been re-united under that of *Thebes*. It is believ'd that *Seſoſtris*, that famous Conqueror of the *Egyptians*, is that *Shiſhak*, King of *Egypt*, whom God made uſe of to chaſtize the Impiety of *Rehoboam*. In the Reign of *Abijah*, the Son of *Rehoboam*, is obſerveable, that great and mighty Victory, which the Piety of that Prince gain'd him over the *Schiſmatical* Tribes. His Son, *Aſa*, whoſe Piety is com-
917. mended in Scripture, is taken notice of there to be a Man, who, in his Sickneſs, relied 3033. 3087.

Years before J. C. *Years of the World.*

more upon the human Help of Medicines, than of the Goodneſs and Power of God.

924. In his time *Omri*, King of *Iſrael*, built *Samaria*, 3080.

914. where he eſtabliſh'd the Seat of his Kingdom. 3090.

This time is follow'd with the admirable Reign of *Jehoſaphat*, wherein flouriſh'd Piety, Juſtice, Navigation, and the Military Art. Whilſt he appear'd in the Kingdom of *Judah* another *David*, *Ahab* and his Wife *Jezebel*, who then reign'd in *Iſrael*, join'd to *Jeroboam*'s Idolatry all the Impieties of the *Gentiles*. They periſh'd both of them miſerably. God, who had born with their Idolatries, was reſolv'd to revenge upon them the blood of *Naboth*, whom they had caus'd to be ſlain, becauſe he had refus'd, as the Law of *Moſes* requir'd, to ſell them the Fee of his Paternal Inheritance. Their Sentence was pronounc'd by the

899. 3105.

897. Mouth of the Prophet *Elijah*. *Ahab* was 3107.

892. kill'd ſome time after, notwithſtanding all his Circumſpection to ſave himſelf. About this time we are to reckon the Foundation of *Carthage*, which *Dido*, who was come from *Tyre*, built in a Place, after the Example of *Tyre*, which was very convenient for Traffick, as it was likewiſe for becoming Miſtreſs of the Sea. It is ſomewhat hard to aſſign the Time when it form'd it ſelf into a Republick; but the mixing of the *Tyrians* and *Africans* made it become equally warlike and trafficking. The ancient Hiſtorians, who place its Origin before the Ruin of *Troy*, ſeem to fancy that *Dido* rather enlarg'd and fortify'd it, than that ever 3112.

ſhe

Years before J. C. 888. Years of the World. 3116.

she laid the Foundation of it. Affairs began to change Face in the Kingdom of *Judah*. *Athalia*, the Daughter of *Ahab* and *Jezebel*, carry'd Impiety along with her into the House of *Jehoshaphat*. *Jehoram*, the Son of so pious a Prince, chose rather to imitate his Father-in-law, than his own Father. The Hand of God was upon him. His Reign was short, and his End dreadful. In the midst of Chastisements, God wrought unheard-of Prodigies, even in favour of the *Israelites*, whom he would now recal to Repentance. They saw, without ever being converted, the Wonders of *Elijah* and *Elisha*, who prophesied during the Reign of *Ahab*, and five of his Successors. At this time *Homer* flourish'd; as *Hesiod* had done thirty Years before. The ancient Manners and Customs, which they present to us, and those the *Vestigia*, which they have so well preserv'd with much Grandeur, of the ancient Simplicity do not a little help us in understanding the Antiquities, that are a great deal more remote, and the Divine Simplicity of the *Scripture*. There had been terrible Spectacles in the Kingdoms of *Judah* and *Israel*. *Jezebel* having added to the Pride of painting her Face and of tyring her Head, provoking and insolent language from the Window of a Tower, against, and to the Face of, *Jehu*, he commanded her to be thrown from thence, and fulfill'd the Word of the Lord, in causing his Horses to tread her under their Feet, and there the Dogs did eat her. He had kill'd *Jehoram* King of *Israel*, the Son of *Ahab*: even all the House of *Ahab* was destroy'd; and it wanted but a little of drawing that

885. 3119. *Chron.* ii. 18.

Marm. Arund.

884. 3120.

Years before J. C. of the Kings of *Judah* into its own Ruin. For *Ahazia*, King of *Judah*, and Son of *Joram* and *Athalia*, was ſlain with his Brethren, as an Ally and Friend to the Children off *Ahab*. As ſoon as this News was brought to *Jeruſalem*, *Athalia* reſolved to cut off all that remain'd of the Seed-Royal, and ſo reign and govern by the loſs and butchery of her own. Only *Jehoaſh*, the Son of *Ahaziah*, a Child that then hung at the Breaſt, was ſtole away from her Fury by *Jehoſheba*, his Aunt. *Jehoſheba*, the Siſter of *Ahazia*, and Wife of *Jehoida* the High-Prieſt, hid him in the Houſe of the Lord, and ſav'd that only precious Remainder of the Houſe of *David*. *Athaliah*, who thought him dead with the reſt, liv'd without fear. *Lycurgus* now drew up Laws for the *Lacedemonians*. He is rebuk'd for having made them all Martial, after the Example of *Minos*, whoſe Inſtitutions he had follow'd; and for having but little provided for the Womens Modeſty in their publick Exerciſes: He obliged all to a very laborious and temperate Life. Nothing was ſtirring in *Judah* againſt *Athalia*, and therefore ſhe thought herſelf eſtabliſh'd, during a ſix years Reign: But God rais'd her up an Avenger in the holy Sanctuary of his Temple. When he was come to be ſeven Years old, *Jehoiada* made him known to ſome of the Rulers over hundreds, with the Captains of the Guard and the Royal Army, whom he had carefully manag'd; and, being aſſiſted with the Prieſts, he anointed the young King in the Temple. Eaſily were the People perſuaded to acknowledge the Heir of *David*,

Years of the World.

2 Chron. xxii. 8, 9, 10.

Plato de Rep. l. 8. *de Leg. l.* 1. *Ariſt. Polit. l.* 2. *c.* 9.

878. 3326.

Years before J. C. | Years of the World.

David, and of *Jehoſaphat*. At the noiſe whereof *Athalia* ran to diſſipate the Conſpiracy; but, being forc'd without the Ranges of the Temple, ſhe there received the Reward of her Crimes. As long as *Jehoiada* liv'd, *Joaſh* reigneth well, keeping to the Law of *Moſes*. After the Death of this holy Man of God, corrupted by the Flatteries of his Courtiers, he falls in with them to downright Idolatry. The High-Prieſt

840. *Zacharias*, the Son of *Jehoiada*, was reſolv'd to reprove him for it; but *Jehoaſh*, without ever being mindful of what he ow'd to his Father, caus'd him to be ſton'd. But Vengeance follow'd cloſe: for the next

839. year *Jehoaſh*, being beaten by the *Syrians*, and fallen into contempt, was aſſaſſinated by his own Subjects; and *Amaziah* his Son, a better Man, was ſet upon the Throne.

825. The Kingdom of *Iſrael*, waſted and depreſs'd by the Victories of the Kings of *Syria*, and by Civil Wars, re-aſſum'd its Strength under *Jeroboam* II. who was more pious than his Predeceſſors. *Hoſiah*, otherwiſe call'd *Azariah*, the Son of *Amazia*, alſo govern'd the Kingdom of *Judah* with no leſs Honour and Glory. This is that

810. famous *Hoziah* that was ſmitten with Leproſie, and often reprov'd in Scripture, for having, towards his latter days, preſum'd to take upon him the Prieſtly Office, and, againſt the Prohibition of the Law, had himſelf offer'd up Incenſe upon the Altar of Perfumes. He was to be ſet aſide, tho' he was a King, according to the Law of *Moſes*; and *Jotham* his Son, who was afterwards

3164.

3165.

3179.

3194.

Years before J. C

Years of the World.

his Succeſſor, did wiſely govern the Kingdom. Under the Reign of *Hoziah*, the holy Prophets, the chief of whom at that time were *Hoſea* and *Iſaiah*, began to publiſh their Prophecies in Writing, and in particular Books; the Originals of which they depoſited in the Temple, to ſerve as a Monument to Poſterity. The Leſſer Prophecies which were given only *vivâ voce*, were, as was uſual, regiſter'd in the Rolls of the Temple, with the Hiſtory of the time. The

776. *Olympic* Games, inſtituted by *Hercules*, and long diſcontinu'd, were re-eſtabliſh'd and ſettled by *Iphitus*, King of *Elis*, and *Lycurgus* of *Lacedemon*, and from that Re-eſtabliſhment came the *Olympiads*, by which the *Grecians* counted their Years. About this time ended that, which *Varro* calls the *Fabulous*, becauſe the profane Hiſtories then were full of Confuſion and Falſities; and the *Hiſtorical* Times began, wherein the Affairs of the World were reported with more exactneſs and fidelity. The firſt *Olympiad* is mark'd out by the victory of *Corebus*. They were renew'd at the beginning of every fifth Year. When in the *Aſſembly* of all *Greece*, at *Piſa* firſt, and afterwards at *Elis*, thoſe famous Games were celebrated, where the Conquerors were crown'd with *incredible* Applauſe. The Exerciſes likewiſe were in great Honour, and *Greece* every Day became more ſtrong, and more cultivated. *Italy* as yet was almoſt all over ſavage. The *Latin* Kings of *Æneas*'s Race reign'd at *Alba*. *Phul* was King of *Aſſyria*. 'Twas believ'd he was the Father of *Sardanapalus*, call'd according

3228.

to

Years before J. C. 771

to the Eastern Custom *Sardan Pul*, that is to say, *Sardan* the Son of *Phul*. 'Tis also thought, that this *Phul*, or *Pul*, was that King of *Nineveh*, who join'd with his People in Repentance at the Preaching of *Jonas*. That Prince, invited by the Confusions of the Kingdom of *Israel*, went to invade it; but being come to an Agreement with *Menahem*, he establish'd him in the Throne, which he had usurp'd by Violence, and receiv'd by way of Acknowledgement, the Tribute of a thousand Talents. In the time of his Son *Sardanapalus*, was *Alcmaon*, the last *perpetual* Archon of the *Athenians*; *that* People, whose Humour led insensibly to affect a popular Estate, lessen'd the Power of their Magistrates, and, in ten Years, wholly overthrew the *Archontick* Administration. The first in this Power so lessen'd was *Charops*. *Romulus* and *Remus*, sprung from the antient Kings of *Alba*, by their Mother *Ilia*, re-establish'd in the Kingdom of *Alba* their Grandfather *Numitor*, of which his Brother *Amulius* had dispossess'd him; and presently after they founded *Rome*, whilst *Jotham* reign'd in *Judah*.

Years of the World. 3233.

That City, which was to be the Mistress of the World, was founded toward the end of the third Year of the sixth Olympiad, about 430 Years after the taking of *Troy*, from whence the *Romans* believ'd their Ancestors to be sprung, and 753 Years before *Jesus Christ*. *Romulus* being bred up hardily with Shepherds, and always engag'd in warlick Exercises, consecrated this

754.

VII. Epocha. Romulus, or Rome founded. 3250. Years of Rome. 1.

Years before J. C. 748. this City to the God of War, who, he said, was his Father. About the time of *Rome*'s Birth, thro' the effeminate Luxury of *Sardanapalus*, happen'd the Fall of the *first* Empire of the *Assyrians*. The *Medes*, a warlike People, animated by the Discourses of *Arbaces* their Governour, set an Example to all his Subjects of contemning and scorning him: All were up in a general revoult against him, and at length he perish'd in his chief City; where he saw himself constrain'd to fling himself into the Fire with his Concubines, his Eunuchs, and his Riches. Out of the Ruins of this Empire, were seen to come *three* great Kingdoms. *Arbaces*, or *Orbaces*, whom some call *Pharnaces*, freed the *Medes*, who, after a very long *Anarchy*, had three most puissant Kings. 747. Moreover, presently after *Sardanapalus* there appear'd a *second* Kingdom of the *Assyrians*, of which *Nineveh* was the chief City, the *third* was the Kingdom of *Babylon*. These *two last* Kingdoms are not unknown to *prophane* Authors, and are much celebrated in the *sacred* History. The second Kingdom of *Nineveh* was founded by *Tilgath*, or *Tiglath* the Son of *Pileser*, call'd for this reason *Tiglathpileser*, to whom was also given the name of *Ninus* the younger. *Baladan* whom the *Greeks* call'd *Belasis*, establish'd the Kingdom of *Babylon*, who is known by the name of *Nabonassar*. From thence the *Æra* of *Nabonassar*, famous with *Ptolomy*, and the antient Astronomers, who reckon'd their Years by the Reign of *that* Prince. It is fit to explain here the signification of this word

Years of Rome. 6. 7.

Æra,

Years before J. C. 740. Æra, which is a number of Years began at a certain point of Time, which ſome extraordinary Accident makes remarkable. Wicked and ſinful *Ahaz*, King of *Judah*, oppreſs'd by *Rezin*, King of *Syria*, and by *Pekah*, the Son of *Remaliah*, King of *Iſrael*, inſtead of having recourſe to God, who ſtirr'd him up thoſe Enemies to puniſh him, call'd in *Tiglathpileſer*, the firſt King of *Aſſyria*, or *Nineveh*, who brought the Kingdom of *Iſrael* to its laſt extremity; and utterly deſtroy'd that of *Syria*, and at the ſame time he ravag'd that of *Judah*, which had deſir'd his Aſſiſtance. Thus the Kings of *Aſſyria* took
721. the way to the Holy Land, and reſolv'd upon the Conqueſt of it. They began with the Kingdom of *Iſrael*, which *Shalmaneſer*, the Son and Succeſſor of *Tiglath-Pileſer*, utterly deſtroy'd. *Hoſhea*, King of *Iſrael* rely'd upon the ſuccour of *Sabacon*, otherwiſe call'd *Sua*, or *Soüs*, King of *Æthiopia*, who had invaded *Egypt*. But that mighty Conqueror could not get it out of the hands of *Shalmaneſer*. The ten Tribes, with whom the Worſhip of God was quite worn off, were tranſported to *Nineveh*, and, being diſpers'd among the *Gentiles*, they ſo loſt themſelves there, that no farther tracing of them can be diſcover'd. There remain'd ſome of them, who were mix'd among the *Jews*, and made a ſmall part of the King-
715. dom of *Judah*. At this time happen'd the Death of *Romulus*. He was always fighting, and always victorious; but in the midſt of his Wars, he notwithſtanding laid the Foundation of Religion and Laws. A long

Years of Rome. 14. 33. 39.

Years before J. C. | Years of Rome.

long Peace gave *Numa*, his Succeſſor, a good opportunity to finiſh that Work. He form'd Religion, and qualify'd the wild and extravagant Manners of the *Romans*. In his time the Colonies that came from *Corinth*, and ſeveral other Towns of *Greece*, founded *Syracuſe* in *Sicily*; alſo *Crotona*, *Tarentum*, and, perhaps, ſome other Towns in that part of *Italy*, to which the moſt antient *Greek* Colonies, which were ſpread over all the Country, had already given the name of *Great Greece*. In the mean time *Hezekiah*, the moſt pious, juſt, of all the Kings ever ſince *David*, reign'd in *Judah*. *Sennacherib*, the Son and Succeſſor of *Shalmaneſer*, beſieg'd him in *Jeruſalem* with a vaſt and prodigious Army; which was in one night deſtroy'd by the Hand of an Angel, which went out and ſmote, in the Camp of the *Aſſyrians*, an hundred fourſcore and five thouſand. *Hezekiah*, being deliver'd in ſo wonderful a manner, ſerv'd God with all his People more faithfully than ever. But after that Prince's Death, under his Son *Manaſſeh*, the ungrateful forgat their God, and ſo diſorders and calamities were multiply'd upon them. A popular State, or *Common wealth*, was then form'd among the *Athenians*, and they began to elect *annual Archontes*, or Governors, the *firſt of* whom was *Creon*. Whilſt Wickedneſs increas'd in the Kingdom of *Judah*, the Power of the Kings of *Aſſyria*, which were to be their avengers, grew daily ſtronger under *Eſarhaddon*, the Son of *Sennacherib*. He re-united the Kingdom of *Babylon* to that of *Nineveh*, and equall'd

714. 40.
710. 44.
698. 56.
687. 67.
677. 77.

Years before J. C. 677. equall'd in Great *Asia*, the Power of the first *Assyrians*. In his Reign, the *Cuthians*, People of *Assyria*, since call'd *Samaritans*, were plac'd in the City of *Samaria*, instead of the Children of *Israel*. These join'd to *that* of Idolatry, the Worship of *God*, and obtain'd of *Eserhaddon*, an *Israelitish* Priest, who taught them the Manner of the God of the Land, that is, to observe the Law of *Moses*. God, resolving not to have his Name utterly abolish'd in a Land that he had given to his People, left there his *Law*, as an earnest and testimony. But their Priest gave them only the Books of *Moses*, which the *revolted* ten Tribes had retain'd, during the Time of their *Schism*. The Scriptures compos'd by the Prophets, *who sacrificed in the Temple*, were by *them* detested; and therefore the *Samaritans* have receiv'd no other than the *Pentateuch*, even down to this day.

Years of Rome. 77. 2 *Kings* xvii. 24. 1 *Esd.* iv. 2. 2 *Kings* xvii. 27, 28, &c.

Whilst *Eserhaddon* and the *Assyrians* so firmly were settling themselves in greater *Asia*, the *Medes* likewise began to be considerable; *Dejoces*, their *first* King, named *Arphaxad* in Scripture, founded the great City *Ecbatana*, and laid the Foundations of a great Empire. They had set him on the Throne, to reward his Virtues, and to put an end to the disorders, which *Anarchy* had caus'd among them. Conducted by so great a King, they supported themselves against their Neighbours, but they did not enlarge their Dominions. *Rome* daily grew, but it was weakly. Under *Tullus Hostilius*, the third King, and by the famous Battle between the

Herod. *l.* 1. *c.* 27.

671. 83.

Horatii

Years before J. C. *Horatii* and the *Curiatii*, *Alba* was conquer'd and ruin'd: Its Citizens, incorporated in that victorious *Ville*, did mightily greaten and fortify it. *Romulus* was the first who took that way to make it more flourishing, when he receiv'd the *Sabins*, and other vanquish'd People; these forgat their Overthrow, and became most faithful and affectionate Subjects. *Rome* in extending its Conquests regulated its *Militia*, and it was under *Tullus Hostilius*, that it began to learn that noble Discipline, which made it to be at last the 670. Mistress of the Universe. The Kingdom of *Egypt*, weaken'd by its long Divisions, was re-establish'd under *Psammeticus*. That Prince, who ow'd his Safety to the *Ionians* and *Carians*, establish'd them in *Egypt* then shut to Strangers. About this time the *Egyptians* began to commerce with the *Greeks*, and since that time also the History of *Egypt*, down to the mingling of pompous Fables by the Artifice of the Priests, began, as *Herod l.* 2. *c.* 95. *Herodotus* tells us, to have some Certainty. 657. In the mean time the Kings of *Assyria* became more and more terrible to all the *East*. *Saosduchin*, the Son of *Esarhaddon*, call'd *Nebuhadonosor* in the Book of *Judith*, in battle array defeated *Arphaxad*, King of the *Medes*. 657. Flush'd with this Success, he attempted to conquer all the *Land*. To compass this his Design he pass'd the *Euphrates*, and ravag'd all as far as *Judah*. The Jews had provok'd God, and given themselves up to Idolatry, after the Example of *Manasseh*; but they had repented with that Prince, and God took them into his Protection. The Conquests

Years of Rome. 84. 97. 91.

Years before J. C. Conqueſts of *Nebuchodonoſor*, and *Holofernes*, his General, were upon a ſudden ſtopt by the hand of a Woman. *Dejoces*, although he was beaten by the *Aſſyrians*, left his Kingdom in a condition of growing greater under his Succeſſors. Whilſt *Phraortes*, his Son; and *Cyaxares*, the Son of *Phraortes*, ſubdu'd
643. *Perſia*, and puſh'd on their Conqueſts to leſ- 117.
641. ſer *Aſia*, even to the Borders of *Halys*, *Judah* indur'd the deteſtable Reign of *Amon*, the Son of *Manaſſeh*. Then *Joſiah*, the Son of *Amon*, wiſe and prudent from his Childhood, endeavour'd to repair the Diſorders, that were caus'd by the wickedneſs and impiety of his Predeceſſor-Kings. *Rome*, when *Ancus Martius* was King, brought *ſome Latines* under its Subjection and Government, and, continuing to make Citizens of her *Enemies*, ſhe ſhut them up within her Walls. The *Veienſes*, already weaken'd by *Romulus*,
626. ſuffer'd new Loſſes. *Ancus* puſh'd on his 128.
Conqueſts as far as to the Neighbouring Sea, and built the City of *Oſtia*, at the Mouth of the River *Tyber*. About this time the Kingdom of *Babylon* was ſeiz'd on by *Nabopolaſſor*; that Traitor, whom *Chinaladan*, otherwiſe call'd *Sarac*, had made General of his Armies againſt *Cyaxares*, King of the *Medes*; join'd himſelf with *Aſtyages*, the Son of *Cyaxares*; took *Chinaladan* in *Nineveh*, deſtroy'd that great City, ſo long a time the Miſtreſs of the *Eaſt*, and ſet himſelf upon the Throne of his Maſter. Under this ambitious Prince *Babylon* grew in Pride and Haughtineſs. *Judah*, whoſe Impiety wax'd more
624. and more, had every thing to fear. The pi- 130.
ous

Years of Rome.

Years before J. C. *Years of* Rome.

ous King *Josiah*, for some small time, by his great humility suspended the punishment, which his People had deserv'd; but the evil increas'd under his Childrens Reign. *Nebuchadonosor* or *Nebuchadnezzar* II. more terrible than his Father *Nabopolassar*, succeeded him. This Prince, bred up in Pride, and always ingag'd in War, made prodigious Conquests both in the *East* and *West*; and *Babylon* threaten'd to bring all the *Land* into subjection and vassalage. His Menaces had soon their effect upon the People of God. *Jerusalem* was left wholly to this proud and mighty Conqueror, who took it three times. The first at the beginning of his Reign, and in the fourth year of the Reign of *Joachim*; from whence begins the 70 years of *Babylon*'s Captivity, taken notice of by the Prophet *Jeremiah*; the second under *Jechonias*, or *Joachin*, the Son of *Joachim*; and the last under *Zedekiah*, when the City was utterly destroy'd, the Temple burnt, and the King carry'd Captive to *Babylon* with *Serajah* the High-Priest, and the best part of the people. The most eminent of those Captives were the Prophets *Ezekiel* and *Daniel*, with them also are reckon'd the *Three Children*, whom *Nebuchadnezzar* could not make to worship his Golden Image, nor consume by his Fiery Furnace. *Greece* was flourishing, and its *Seven* Wise Men made themselves illustrious. Some time before the last desolation of *Jerusalem*, *Solon*, one of the seven, prescrib'd Laws to the *Athenians*, and establish'd Liberty upon *Justice*: The *Phocians* of *Ionia* brought their first Colony to *Marseilles*.

610. 144.
607. 147.
Jer. xxv. 11, 12. xxix. 10.
599. 155.
598. 156.
594. 160.
578. 176.

Tarquin

Years before J. C. | Years of Rome.

Tarquin the Antient, King of *Rome*, after he had conquer'd a part of *Tuscany*; and adorn'd the City of *Rome* with his pompous and magnificent Works, finish'd his Reign. In his time the *Gauls*, led on by *Bellovesus*,

566. possess'd themselves in *Italy* of all round about the *Po*; whilst that *Segovesus*, his Brother, carried far up into *Germany* another Swarm of that Nation. *Servius Tullius*, *Tarquin*'s Successour, establish'd the *Census*, or the List of Citizens that were distributed into certain *Classes*, whereby that great City was regulated and order'd as a private Family. *Nebuchadnezzar* beautify'd *Babylon*, which was mightily inrich'd by the Spoils of *Jerusalem*, and the *eastern* Country: But it did not enjoy them long; for that King, who had illustrated it with such Magnificence, saw, when he was dying, the approaching Ruin

562. of that famous City. His Son, *Evilmerodac*, whose Debauches had render'd him

560. odius, liv'd not long, for he was kill'd by *Nerigliſſor*, his Brother-in-law, who usurp'd the Kingdom. *Pisistratus* also in *Athens* usurp'd the sovereign Authority, which he understood very well how to keep for *thirty* Years, amidst several Vicissitudes; and afterwards left it to his Children. *Neregliſſor* could not bear with the Power of the *Medes*, which grew very great in the *East*, and therefore declar'd War against them. Whilst *Astyages*, the Son of *Cyaxares* I. was preparing to resist him, he died, and left the War to be maintain'd by his Son *Cyaxares* II. call'd, in *Daniel*,

559. *Darius* the *Mede*. He appointed for the

188. 192. 194. 195.

Abyd. ap. Euseb. l. 9. Præp. Ev. c. ult.

Years before J. C. *Years of* Rome.

General of his Army, *Cyrus*, the Son of *Mandana*, his Sister, and of *Cambyses*, King of *Persia*, who was subject to the Empire of the *Medes*. The Reputation of *Cyrus*, which had been signaliz'd in divers Wars under *Astyages*, his Grandfather, re-united most of the *eastern* Kings under the Standard of *Cyaxares*. He took, in his Capital City, *Crœsus*, King of *Lydia*, and possess'd himself of his vast Estate and Riches; he brought over the other Allies of the Kings of *Babylon*; and extended his Dominion not only over *Syria*, but also very far in the lesser *Asia*. At last he marches against *Babylon*, takes it, and subjects it to *Cyaxares* his Uncle, who being no less affected with his Fidelity, than his great Exploits, gave him his only Daughter and Heiress in Marriage. In the Reign of *Cyaxares*, *Daniel* (already honour'd, under the precedent Reigns, with several Visions from Heaven, in which he saw pass before him, in such plain and manifest Figures, so many Kings and Empires) learnt by a *New* Revelation, those *Seventy* famous Weeks, by which, the Time of *Jesus Christ*, and the Destiny of the *Jewish* People are explain'd. It was the Weeks of *Years*, and contain'd 490 Years; and this Way of Computation was ordinary and familiar among the *Jews*, who observed the seventh *Year*, as well as the seventh *Day*, with a religious Repose. Some time after this Vision, *Cyaxares* died, as well as *Cambyses*, the Father of *Cyrus*; and *this* great Man, who succeeded them, join'd unto and rais'd the

548. 206.
543. 211.
538. 216.
537. 217.
536. 218.

the Kingdom of *Perſia*, till then obſcure, above that of the *Medes* ſo mightily greaten'd by its Conqueſts. Thus was *he* the quiet and peaceable Maſter of all the *Eaſt*, and founded the greateſt Empire that ever was, at leaſt till that of the *Romans*. But that which is moſt remarkable for the Continuance of our *Epocha's*, is, that this great Conqueror in the *firſt* Year of his Reign, gave his Decree for the re-eſtabliſhing of the Temple of God in *Jeruſalem*, and the *Jews* in *Judea*.

HERE we ought a little to make a Stop, becauſe it is the moſt entangl'd Place of all the ancient Chronology, by reaſon of the Difficulty in conciliating the *Prophane* Hiſtory with the *Sacred*. No queſtion but Your Highneſs hath already obſerv'd, that this Account, I have given you of *Cyrus* is much different from what you have read of him in *Juſtin*; that he ſpeaks nothing of the *ſecond* Kingdom of the *Aſſyrians*, nor of thoſe famous Kings of *Aſſyria* and *Babylon*, ſo memorable in the *Sacred* Hiſtory; and, in ſhort, this Relation of mine is far from agreeing with that which is reported by the Author of the *three firſt* Monarchies; according to whom that of the *Aſſyrians*, ended in the Perſon of *Sardanapalus*; that of the *Medes* ended in *Aſtyages*, the Grandfather of *Cyrus*; and this of the *Perſians* began by *Cyrus*, and was deſtroy'd by *Alexander*.

Your Highneſs may be pleas'd to add to *Juſtin*, *Diodorus*, with moſt of the

" *Greek* and *Latin* Authors, whose Wri-
" tings are yet extant, who give you these
" Histories, after quite another manner
" than this I have follow'd.

Hieron. in Don. " As to what belongs to *Cyrus*, the pro-
" phane Authors are in no Agreement
" among themselves about his History;
" but I thought it best to follow rather
" *Xenophon*, with St. *Jerome*, than *Ctesias*,
" a fabulous Author, whom most of the
" *Grecians* have copied, and written after,
" as *Justin* and the *Latins* have follow'd
" the *Grecians*; and I have preferr'd him
" even to *Herodotus* himself, tho' *he* is a
" most excellent and judicious Reporter.
" And that which hath determin'd me to
" this Choice, is, that *Xenophon*'s History,
" the most probable and likely in itself,
" hath also this great Advantage, that it is
" the most conformable to the *Scripture*,
" which, by reason of its Antiquity, and
" the Relation of the *Jewish* Affairs to
" those of the *eastern* People, deserves
" to be esteem'd beyond all the *Greek*
" Histories, tho' one did not know that it
" had been dictated by the Holy *Spirit*.

Plato in Tim. " As to the *three* first Monarchies,
" what most of the *Greek* Authors have
" written of them, seems very doubtful to
" the Sages of *Greece*. *Plato*, in general,
" shews us, under the Name of *Egyptian*
" Priests, that the *Greeks* were extreamly
Arist. Polit. v. 10. " ignorant of Antiquities: and *Aristotle*
" hath rang'd among the *fabulous* Repor-
" ters those that have written of the *As-*
" *syrians*.

" The

The *Greeks* have written very negligently, and, becauſe they had a Mind to pleaſe and divert by their Hiſtorical relating of their Antiquities, they have taken up Reports upon confuſed and dark *Memorandums*, and ſo ſatisfied themſelves with putting them into an agreeable Order, without being at any great pains or care to ſearch whether they were true, or not.

And certainly the way: which was commonly taken, to rank the *three* firſt Monarchies, is moſt apparently *erroneous*. For after the Downfal of the Empire of *Aſſyria*, under *Sardanapalus*, next appear the *Medes*, and after them the *Perſians*; as if the *Medes* had been Succeſſors to the mighty Power of the *Aſſyrians*, and the *Perſians* had eſtabliſh'd themſelves upon the Ruin of the *Medes*.

Whereas, on the contrary, it is moſt certain, that when *Arbaces* animated the *Medes* againſt *Sardanapalus*, he did only deliver them, and not ſubject the *Aſſyrian* Empire to *them*. *Herodotus*, followed herein by the moſt approved Chronologers, mentions nothing of their firſt King *Dejoces*, until *fifty* Years after their Revolt; and it is the more to be credited, becauſe of the concurrent Teſtimony both of *this* great Hiſtorian and of *Xenophon*, (not to trouble you now with any others) that, during the Time that is allotted to the Empire of the *Medes*, there were in *Aſſyria* ſuch mighty puiſ-

Herod. l. 1. c. 26, 27.

Herod. l. 1. Xenoph. Cyrop. v, vi, &c.

" ſant Kings, as all the *Eaſt* ſtood in awe
" of, and it was *Cyrus* that cruſh'd the
" Empire by his taking of *Babylon*.

" If therefore the Generality of the
" *Greeks*, and the *Latins* that have follow'd
" *them*, make no mention of thoſe *Baby-*
" *lonian* Kings; if they have given no
" place to *that* great Kingdom among the
" firſt Monarchies, whoſe Continuance
" and After-Accidents they relate; in a
" Word, if we can ſcarce find any thing
" in all their Works of thoſe famous Kings
" *Tiglath-Pileſar*, *Shalmaneſer*, *Sennache-*
" *rib*, *Nebuchadnezzar*, and ſeveral others
" ſo renown'd in *Scripture*, and in the *ea-*
" *ſtern* Hiſtories, we may then ſurely at-
" tribute it, either to the Ignorance of
" the *Greeks*, who were more eloquent in
" their Reports, than ſtudious and indu-
" ſtrious in their Searches, or elſe to the
" Loſs we have had of what was more
" exact and faithful in their Hiſtories.

Herod. l. 1. *c.* 28, 47. " Indeed, *Herodotus* had promiſed a
" particular Hiſtory of the *Aſſyrians*, which
" we have not, either by our ſad Misfor-
" tune of its being loſt, or of his not ha-
" ving had Time to do it; and we cannot
" imagine, that ever ſo judicious an Hi-
Ibid. l. 2. *c.* 10. " ſtorian would have forgotten the Kings
" of the *ſecond* Empire of the *Aſſyrians*,
" eſpecially ſince we find even *Sennacherib*,
" who was one of them, mentioned in
" the Books, that we now have, of this
" great Author, as being King both of
" the *Aſſyrians* and *Arabians*.

Strabo,

Strabo, who liv'd in the Time of *Auguſtus*, reports what *Megaſtenes*, an ancient Author, near the Time of *Alexander*, had left in Writing concerning the mighty Conqueſts of *Nebuchadnezzar*, King of the *Chaldees*, whom he makes to run through *Europe*, enter into *Spain*, and extend his Arms as far as the Pillars of *Hercules*. *Ælion* calls *Tilgamus* King of *Aſſyria*, that is to ſay, *Tilgath*, or *Tiglath*, which we find in the Holy Scriptures; and in *Ptolomy* we meet with an Enumeration of the Princes of great Empires, among whom there is a long Succeſſion of the Kings of *Aſſyria*, who were unknown to the *Greeks*, and whom it is eaſy to reconcile to the Sacred Hiſtory. "

Strabo, lib. 15.

Ælion. lib. 12. *Hiſt. An. c.* 21.

If I would bring in the Accounts of the *Ayrian* Annals, *Beroſus*, *Abydenus*, *Nicolas* of *Damaſcus*, I ſhould be too tedious even for a long-winded Reader. *Joſephus*, and *Euſebius* of *Cæſarea*, have preſerv'd the precious Fragments of all thoſe Authors, and indeed of an infinite many more, which they had entire and perfect in thoſe Times, whoſe Teſtimony is a Confirmation to us of what we read in the *Holy* Scripture concerning the *Eaſtern* Antiquities, and eſpecially concerning the *Aſſyrian* Hiſtories. "

Joſeph. Antiq l. 9. *c. ult. &* 10. *c.* 11. *l.* 1. *cont. Ap. Euſeb. Præp. Ev.*

As to the Monarchy of the *Medes*, which has the *ſecond* Preference among the great Empires, by moſt of the *prophane* Hiſtorians, as *ſeparated* from the "

" Empire of *Perſia*, certain it is, that the " *Scripture* ever unites them both together. " And your Highneſs ſees, that, beſides the " *Authority* of the ſacred Pages, the bare " Order of Matters of Fact, ſhews us, that " it is *that* we are ſtill to look at.

" The *Medes* before *Cyrus*, though they " were very powerful and conſiderable, " yet were much leſſen'd by the Great- " neſs of the Kings of *Babylon*. But *Cyrus* " having conquer'd their Kingdom by the " collected Forces both of *Medes* and *Per-* " *ſians*, of which he afterwards became the " Maſter, by a Legitimate Succeſſion, as " we have obſerv'd from *Xenophon*; it " ſeems moſt probable, that the great " Empire, of which he was the Founder, " did as it ought indeed, take from him " the Name to *both* Nations, ſo that *that* of " the *Medes* and *Perſians* are but one and " the ſame thing, tho' the Glory of *Cyrus* " made the Name of the *Perſians* to be " the more prevailing.

" It may be alſo thought, that before " the War of *Babylon*, the Kings of the " *Medes* having extended their Conqueſts " to the *Greek* Colonies in leſſer *Aſia*, were " by that Means famous among the *Greeks*, " who attributed the Empire of greater " *Aſia* to *them*, becauſe they were ac- " quainted with *them* only of all the Kings " of the Eaſt. And yet the Kings of *Nine-* " *veh* and *Babylon*, who were greater and " more puiſſant, but more unknown to " the *Greeks*, have been near quite for- " gotten in thoſe Books of thoſe *Greek* Hiſtorians

Hiſtorians that are remaining to us; and all the Time from *Sardanapalus* down to *Cyrus*, has been given to the *Medes* only. "

We need not therefore be in pain how to reconcile, as to this Point, the *prophane* to the *ſacred* Hiſtory. For, as to what reſpects the *firſt* Kingdom of the *Aſſyrians*, the Scripture ſpeaks only *en Paſſant*, or ſlightly, and neither mentions *Ninus*, who was the Founder of that Empire, nor, excepting *Phul*, any other of his Succeſſors; becauſe their Hiſtory fell not in with that of the *People of God*. As for the *ſecond* Kingdom of the *Aſſyrians*, moſt of the *Greeks* are either quite ignorant of them, or elſe, becauſe they have not thoroughly known them as they ought, they have confounded them with the *former*. "

When therefore ſhall be objected to us *thoſe* of the *Greek* Authors, who, according to their own Caprice and Fancy, range the *three firſt* Monarchies, and make the *Medes* Succeſſors to the ancient Empire of *Aſſyria*, without ſpeaking a Word concerning what the *Scripture* ſeems to be ſo ſtrong in; there is only this Anſwer to be made, that they were unacquainted with *this* part of the Hiſtory; and they are no leſs contrary to the more curious, and beſt informed Authors of their *own* Nation, than they are to the *Holy Scriptures*. "

" And

" And that which in one Word anſwers " all the Difficulty, is; the *ſacred* Au- " thors, being *nearer* to the Times and " Places of the *Eaſtern* Kingdoms, and " writing moreover the Hiſtory of a Peo- " ple whoſe Affairs were ſo intermix'd " with thoſe of *theſe* great Empires, tho' " they had no other Advantage beſides " this, it were enough to put the *Greeks* " and *Latins* to ſilence.

" But if, notwithſtanding, the Obſti- " nate ſhould go on ſtill to maintain this " *celebrated* Order of the *three firſt Monar-* " *chies*, and that, to keep entirely to the " *Medes* the *ſecond* Rank which is aſcrib'd " to them, any are wilfully reſolv'd to " make the Kings of *Babylon* ſubject to " them, in affirming ſtill that, after an " hundred Years Subjection, theſe at laſt " ſhould deliver themſelves by a Revolt; " yet in ſome manner it doth ſave the " Continuance of the *ſacred* Hiſtory; but " it doth very little agree with the *beſt* " *prophane* Hiſtorians, to whom the *ſacred* " Hiſtory is more favourable in that it e- " ver unites the Empire of the *Medes* to " that of the *Perſians*.

" There is yet remaining to be diſco- " ver'd one of the Cauſes of the Obſcu- " rity and Darkneſs of *theſe* ancient Hi- " ſtories. And it is this, that as the *eaſtern* " Kings took up ſeveral *Names*, or, if " you pleaſe, ſeveral *Titles*, which, in ſome " Length of Time, they eſpous'd as their " *own Name*, and which the People either " tranſlated, or pronounc'd variouſly, ac-

cording

cording to the ſeveral particular Idioms of each reſpective Language; thoſe ſo ancient Hiſtories, whereof there is left now but a very few good Memorials, are, in all Probability, become by this Means ſo very dark and imperfect. The Confuſion of *Names* hath no doubt contributed very much both to that of their Affairs as well as Perſons; and from hence proceeds our Trouble rightly to ſituate in the *Greek* Hiſtory thoſe Kings, who have had the Name of *Ahaſuerus*, as much unheard of to the *Greeks*, as it was well known to the *eaſtern* Countries.

Who would indeed believe that *Cyaxares* was the ſame Name as *Ahaſuerus*, made up of the Word *Ky*, that is to ſay, *Sir*, or *Lord*, and from the Word *Axare*, which manifeſtly returns to *Axuerus*, or *Aſſuerus*, and ſo *Ahaſuerus*? *Three* or *Four* Princes have gone under this Name, tho' they had others beſides. If we do not know that *Nebuchodonozor*, *Nebucodroſor*, and *Nebocolaſſor*, were only one and the ſame Name, or the Name of but one Perſon, it would be difficult for us to believe it; and yet the thing is moſt certain. *Sargon* is *Sennacherib*; *Ozias* is *Azarias*; *Sedachias* is *Mathanias*, *Joachas* is alſo called *Sellum*. *Aſarhaddon*, which is indifferently pronounced *Eſarhaddon*; or *Aſarhaddon*, is called *Aſenephar*, by thoſe of *Cutha*: and by an odd bizar Way, of which we can find no Ground, or Origin, *Sardanapalus* is, by the *Grreeks* called *Tonos Concoleres*. 2 *Eſd.* iv. 2, 10.

" *Concoleros.* We could preſent you with
" a long Liſt of *eaſtern* Perſons, to whom
" in Hiſtories ſeveral different Names
" have been given; but it is ſufficient
" in general to underſtand this Cuſtom.
" It is not unknown to the *Latins*, a-
" mong whom Titles and Adoptions
" have multiplied Names in ſo many
" kinds. Thus the Title of *Auguſtus*, and
" that of *Africanus*, became the Sirnames
" of *Cæſar Octavianus*, and the *Scipio*'s;
" and, in like manner, the *Nero*'s have
" been *Cæſars*. The thing is not to be
" doubted, and a longer Diſcuſſion of a
" Matter ſo apparently manifeſt, would be
" needleſs to you.

" I will not now offer to trouble your
" Highneſs any further with the knotty
" Difficulties of Chronology, which are as
" little neceſſary, as uſeful, for you. *This*
" was of too great Importance not to be
" clear'd up in *this* Place; and after we
" have ſaid what we think is ſufficient for
" our Purpoſe, we will return to the Train
" of our *Epocha*'s.

IT

IT was then 218 Years after the Foundation of *Rome*, 536 Years before JESUS CHRIST, after the 70 Years of *Babylon*'s Captivity, and the ſame Year that *Cyrus* founded the *Perſian* Empire, that this Prince, elected by God, to be the Deliverer of his *People*, and the Reſtorer of his *Temple*, ſet about this great Work. Forthwith after the Publication of his Decree, *Zerubabel*, accompanied with *Jeſus* the Son of *Joſedec*, the High-Prieſt, brought back the Captives, who rebuilt the Altar, and laid the Foundations of the *ſecond* Temple.

VIII. Epocha. *Cyrus, or the Jews re-eſtabliſhed.*

6. *Age of the World.*

Years before J. C.

536.

Years of Rome.

218.

535. The *Samaritans* being jealous of their Glory, were reſolv'd to go Shares with them in this great Work, and under the Pretence of worſhipping the God of *Iſrael*, tho' they join'd with it their own *Idolatries*; yet, they beſought *Zerubabel* to give them leave to aſſiſt him in the Building of that Temple. But the Children of *Judah*, who deteſted their corrupted Worſhip, rejected their Propoſition. The provoked *Samaritans* therefore croſs'd and perplex'd their Deſign by all the Ways of Artifice and Violence imaginable. About the ſame time, *Servius Tullius*, after he had aggrandiz'd the City of *Rome*, was contriving how to reduce it to a *Commonwealth*.

219.

1 *Eſdr.* iv. 2, 3.

533. But, in the midſt of thoſe his Deſigns, he periſh'd by the Counſels of his *Daughter*, and the Command of *Tarquin* the *proud*, his Son-in-law. This Tyrant thus ſeiz'd on the Kingdom, and, for a long Time, exercis'd all manner of Cru-

221.

elties

Years before J. C. elties and Outrages. In the mean while the *Perſian* Empire was growing up; beſides thoſe vaſt Provinces of the greater *Aſia*, all the greater Continent of the leſſer *Aſia* became obedient to it. The *Syrians* and *Arabians* were ſubjected; and *Egypt*, which was ſo jealous of its own Laws, yet, receiv'd theirs. This Conqueſt was got by *Cambyſes*, the Son of *Cyrus*. But that fierce Man did not long ſurvive his Brother *Smerdis*, whom an ambiguous Dream cauſed privately to be put to death. The chief of the *Magi*, or chief *Smerdis*, rul'd for ſome Time under the Name of *Smerdis*, the Brother of *Cambyſes*; but this Cheat was ſoon diſcover'd. The *ſeven* principal Lords conſpir'd againſt him, and one of them was ſet upon the Throne. This was *Darius*, the Son of *Hyſtaſpes*, who in his Inſcriptions ſtil'd himſelf the Beſt, and the Handſomeſt, of all Men. There are many remarkable Things that make us know him to be the *Ahaſuerus* ſpoken of in the Book of *Heſter*, tho' ſome there are of another Opinion. At the Beginning of his Reign, the *Temple* was finiſh'd, after ſeveral Interruptions occaſion'd by the *Samaritans*. There was an irreconcileable Hatred between the two People, ſo that nothing was more oppoſite than *Jeruſalem* and *Samaria*. It was in the Time of *Darius*, when the Liberty of *Rome* and *Athens*, and the great Glory of *Greece* began. *Harmodius* and *Ariſtogiton*, *Athenians*, reſcu'd their Country from *Hipparchus*, the Son of *Piſiſtratus*, and are kill'd by his Guards. *Hippias*,

525. 522. 521. 513.

Herod. l. 4. c. 159.

1 Eſd. v. 6.

Years of Rome. 229. 232. 233. 241.

Years before J. C. 510. *Hippias*, the Brother of *Hipparchus*, endeavours, but in vain, to support himself; he is repuls'd, and the Tyranny of the *Pisistratus*'s is obsolutely extinguish'd: The rescu'd *Athenians* erect Statues to their Deliverers, and re-establish'd the *popular* State. *Hippias* throws himself into the Arms of *Darius*, whom he already found dispos'd to attempt the Conquest of *Greece*, so that all his Hope was in his Protection. At the same time, when he was repuls'd, *Rome* also was deliver'd of her Tyrants. *Tarquin*, the Proud, by his violent Outrages had made *Royalty* odious: The Incontinency of *Sextus*, his Son, was the Compliment of its Destruction. *Lucretia*, ravish'd, became her own Murdress; her Blood, together with the Harangues of *Brutus*, animated and inspirited the *Romans*. The Kings were banish'd, and the *Consulary* Power was establish'd, according to the *Model* and *Projection* of *Servius Tullius*; but it was soon weaken'd by the Jealousies of the People. For, in the very first Consulate, *P. Valerius*, the Consul, memorable for his Victories, became suspected by his *Citizens*; so that, to please and satisfy them, he was oblig'd to establish the Law of *Appeals* to the People, from the Senate and Consuls in all Causes, wherein the punishing of a Citizen was concerned. The expell'd *Tarquins* found Defenders; for the neighbouring Kings look'd upon their Banishment as an Injury done to all *crown'd* Heads in general; and *Porsenna*, King of the *Clusians*, a People of *Etruria*,

Years of Rome. 244. 245. 247.

509. 507.

Years before J. C. *Etruria*, took up Arms against *Rome*; which, reduc'd to its last Extremity, and almost conquer'd and taken, receiv'd its Preservation from *Horatius Cocles*. The *Romans* did prodigious things to secure their dear beloved *Liberty*, and *Scevola*, a young Citizen, burnt off that Hand which had not reach'd *Porsenna*. *Clelia*, a young Lady, made that Prince astonish'd at her Courage and Bravery; and *Porsenna* left *Rome* in Peace, and the *Tarquins* remain'd now without any Hopes of Succour. But *Hippias*, for whom *Darius* declar'd, had better Hopes. All *Persia* was up in his Favour, and *Athens* had a great threatning Cloud of War hanging over it. Whilst that *Darius* was making his Preparations for it, *Rome*, which was so well fortified against Strangers, had e'en like to have been destroy'd within itself: *Jealousy* began to re-inforce and take head again among the *Patricians* and the *People*; and the *Consulary* Power, altho' it had been already moderated by the Law of *P. Valerius*, did yet seem somewhat too great to that People, who were now grown very fearful of their *Liberty*; so that they retreated to Mount *Aventine*; and the Counsels which were violent, were likewise unsuccessful: the *People* could not be reduc'd but by the peaceable Remonstrances of *Menenius Agrippa*; and the *Patricians* were forc'd to find out a sweetening kind of *Temperament*, and to give to the *People Tribunes*, that might be able to defend them against the *Consuls*. The Law which establish'd this

500. 493.

Years of Rome. 254. 261.

Years before J. C. | Years of Rome.

this new ſort of Magiſtracy, was called the *ſacred* Law, and hence was the Riſe and Origin of the Tribunes of the People. *Darius* had at laſt declar'd againſt *Greece*. His Son-in-law, *Mardonius*, after he had gone through *Aſia*, thought to overthrow the *Grecians* with the Number of his Soldiers; but *Miltiades* defeated that vaſt Army, in the Plain of *Marathon*, with ten thouſand *Athenians*. *Rome* grew victorious over all her Enemies round about, and ſeem'd to be apprehenſive of none but thoſe within her own Bowels. *Coriolanus*, a zealous Patrician, and the greateſt of her Captains, notwithſtanding all his Services, being baniſh'd, by the Popular Faction, conſpir'd the Deſtruction of his Country; brought the *Volſci* againſt her, reduc'd her to the greateſt Extremity, and could not be moderated, but by the Influence of his Mother. *Greece* did not long enjoy the Repoſe which the Battle of *Marathon* had given it: for, to revenge the Affront of *Perſia*, and *Darius Xerxes*, his Son and Succeſſor, and the Grandſon of *Cyrus* by his Mother *Atoſſa*, invaded *Greece* with Eleven hundred thouſand fighting Men, (ſome ſtick not to ſay Seventeen hundred thouſand) not to reckon his Forces at Sea of Twelve hundred great Ships. But *Leonidas*, King of *Sparta*, detach'd with a ſmall Body in which were Three hundred *Lacedemonians*, ſlew of them 20,000, at the Straights of *Thermopylæ*, and fell with his *own*. By the Counſels of *Themiſtocles*, the *Athenian*, the Sea-forces of *Xerxes* were, the ſame Year,

490. 264.

489. 265.
488. 266.

480. 274.

479. 275.

Years before J. C. defeated and beaten, near *Salamina*. That Prince repaſſed the *Helleſpont* in Fear; and a Year after, his Land-Army, which was commanded by *Mardonius*, was utterly hew'd to pieces near *Platea*, by *Pauſanias* King of *Lacedemonia*, and by *Ariſtides* the *Athenian*, ſirnamed the *Juſt*. The Battle began in the Morning; and by the Evening of that memorable Day, the *Grecians* alſo of *Ionia*, who had ſhook off the *Perſian* Yoke, killed of them Thirty thouſand in the Battle of *Mycala*, under the Conduct and Command of *Leotychides*. That General, to put Courage into his Soldiers, told them, that *Mardonius* was now overcome in *Greece*. The News prov'd true, either by a prodigious Effect of Fame, or rather by a happy Accident; and all the *Greeks* of the *Leſſer Aſia* were reſtor'd to their Liberty. This Nation every where got very conſiderable Advantages. A little before, the *Carthaginians*, then mighty powerful and great, were beaten in *Sicily*, where they were going to extend their Dominions at the Inſtance and Importunity of the *Perſians*. However, notwithſtanding all this bad Succeſs, they would not leave off their new Deſigns upon an Iſland, which was ſo commodious to ſecure them the Empire of the Sea, which their Commonwealth greatly deſired. *Greece* had it then, but ſhe only regarded the Eaſt, and the *Perſians*. *Pauſanias* came to ſet free the Iſle of *Cyprus* from their Yoke, but had fram'd the Project of enthralling his Country. Yet all his Deſigns were fruitleſs, tho' *Xerxes* promis'd

Years of Rome. 277. 278.

promis'd him all things: the Traytor was betray'd by him whom moſt he lov'd, and his infamous Love coſt him his Life.

474. The ſame Year *Xerxes* was kill'd by *Artabanus*, his Captain of the Guards, whether that perfidious wretch deſign'd to poſſeſs the Throne of his Maſter, or that he fear'd the ſeverities of a Prince, whoſe cruel Orders he had not ſo punctually executed. *Artaxerxes*, his Son, ſucceeded, and not long after receiv'd from *Themiſtocles* a Letter; who, being proſcrib'd by his own Citizens, made him an 473. offer of his Service againſt *Greece*. He very well underſtood what eſteem he ought to have for ſo great and renowned a Captain, and therefore made a firm eſtabliſhment of Friendſhip with him, maugre all the Jealouſies of his *Nobles*. It 467. was this brave and magnanimous Prince that was the Protector of the *Jewiſh* People; and, in his twentieth Year, which is memorable by his glorious Deeds, he permitted *Nehemiah* to re-eſtabliſh *Jeruſalem* with her Walls. But this Decree of *Artaxerxes* did differ from that of *Cyrus*; for *Cyrus*'s was only in reſpect to the Temple, This of *Artaxerxes* was made for the whole City. From this Decree, foreſeen by *Daniel*, and ſet down in his Prophecy, the Four hundred and ninety Years of his Weeks begin. This important Date hath very ſolid foundations. The Baniſhment of *Themiſtocles* is plac'd in *Euſebius* his Chronology, as in the laſt Year of the

Years before J. C.

Years of Rome.

280.

Ariſt. Polit. v. 10.

281

287.

1 *Eſdr.* vii. 8.

300.

2 *Eſdr.* ii. 1.

Years before J. C. Years of Rome.

Seventy sixth *Olympiad*, which comes back to the Two hundred and eightieth of *Rome*. The other Chronologists put it a little lower: but the difference is very little, and the Circumstances of time do much assure the Date of *Eusebius*. They are likewise pretty agreeing with *Thucydides*, a most exact Historian; and that grave Author, almost a Contemporary, as well as a fellow Citizen, of *Themistocles*, makes him to write his Letter about the beginning of *Artaxerxes* his Reign. *Cornelius Nepos*, an Ancient and Judicious, as well as Elegant Author, will not have us question this Date, after the Authority of *Thucydides*: and it is so much a stronger Argument, because another, more antient Author than *Thucydides* was, agrees with him. 'Tis *Charon* of *Lampsacus*, cited by *Plutarch*; and *Plutarch* adds himself, That the *Annals*, that is to say, those of *Persia*, concur with those two Authors. But however he does not follow them, tho' he gives us no reason for it; and those Historians who begin the Reign of *Artaxerxes* eight or nine years later, agree neither in time, nor are they of so great an Authority. Therefore, beyond all dispute, we ought to reckon the beginning of it toward the end of the seventy sixth *Olympiad*, and near the 280 year of *Rome*, and so the twentieth year of this Prince will come to be about the end of the eighty first *Olympiad*, and near the 300 year of *Rome*. Whereas those, who, to conciliate Authors, reject this, and make the

Thucyd. l. 1.

Cornel. Nep. in Themist.

Plut. in Them.

Years before J. C. Years of Rome.

the beginning of *Artaxerxes* his Reign to fall out lower, are forc'd to conjecture, that his Father had at least associated him to the Kingdom when *Themistocles* wrote his Letter: but, which way soever it be, our account is secure. This Foundation being settled and granted, the rest of the Account is easie to be made, and the Consequence will render it plain and evident. After *Artaxerxes* had made his Decree, the *Jews* labour'd mightily to rebuild their City and the Walls thereof, as *Daniel* had prophesied. *Nehemiah* managed and order'd the work with a great deal of Prudence and Courage, in defiance to all the oppositions of the *Samaritans*, *Arabians*, and the *Ammonites*. The People sat about the Work, and *Eliashib*, the High-Priest, encouraged them by his Example. In the mean while, the new Magistrates which were set over the People of *Rome*, increas'd the Devisions of that City; and *Rome*, begun under a *Monarchy*, did want those Laws which were necessary for the good Constitution of a *Common-wealth*. The Reputation of *Greece*, which had made herself more famous by her Government than by her

Dan. ix. 25. *Nehem.* ii. 17, 18, 19.

452. Victories, excited the *Romans* to follow 302.
her Example; so that they sent Deputies to search into the Laws of *Greece*, and especially into those of *Athens*, which were more agreeable to the State of their Re-

451. publick. According to this Model, ten 303.
absolute Magistrates, which they created, the next Year after, under the Name of

Years before J. C. 450. the *Decemviri*, digeſted and ſet down the Laws of the Twelve Tables, which are the Ground and Foundation of the *Roman* Law. The People, overjoy'd at the Equity wherewith they were made, ſuffered them to uſurp the ſupreme Power; which they uſed with Tyranny enough. Then follow'd great Convulſions by the Intemperance of *Appius Claudius*, one of the *Decemviri*, and by the Murther of *Virginia*, whom her Father choſe rather to ſlay with his own Hand, than abandon her to be a Sacrifice to the Paſſion and Luſt of *Appias*. The Blood of this *Second Lucretia* awaken'd the *Romans*, ſo that the *Decemviri* were quite thruſt out. But, whilſt the Laws were framing under theſe ten Magiſtrates, *Ezra* a Doctor of the Law, and *Nehemiah* the Governour of the *Jewiſh* People newly reeſtabliſh'd in *Judah*, were reforming the Abuſes, and bringing in the Law of *Moſes*, ſo that they began to be obſerv'd in the firſt place. One of the main points of their Reformation was to oblige all the People, and particularly the Prieſts, to leave their ſtrange Wives, whom they had married contrary to the expreſs Letter of the Law. *Eſdras* put the Holy Books in order, and made a very exact review of them, and collected the Antient Memoires of the *Jews*, to compile out of them the two Books of *Paralipomena*, or *Chronicles*, to which he added the Hiſtory of his own Time, which *Nehemiah* finiſh'd. Whilſt *Eſdras* and *Nehemiah* were making the laſt part

Years of Rome. 304. 395.

2 Eſdr. xiii. *Deut.* xxiii. 3.

Years before J. C. part of this great Work, *Herodotus*, whom the Prophane Authors call the Father of History itſelf, began to write. So that the laſt Authors of the Holy Hiſtory met with the firſt Author of the *Greek* Hiſtory; and when *this* began, *That* of the *Jews*, to take it only from *Abraham*, had already made up five Ages. *Herodotus* never thought to ſpeak of the *Jews* in that Hiſtory he hath left us; and the *Greeks* would not inform themſelves of any, but ſuch People, whom War, Commerce, or a great Fame had made very conſiderable. *Judah*, that with great difficulty began to raiſe itſelf from the Aſhes of its Ruin, never in the leaſt attracted their regards. And it was in this miſerable and calamitous Time that the *Hebrew* Language ceaſed to be common. During the Captivity, and afterwards by the commerce that happen'd between them and the *Chaldeans*, the *Jews* learn'd the *Chaldee* Tongue, which very much border'd upon their own, and had almoſt the ſame Idiom and Genius. This reaſon induc'd them to change the antient Figure of *Hebrew* Letters, and ſo they write *Hebrew* in the *Chaldee* Characters which were moſt in uſe among them, and eaſier to be made. This alteration was almoſt inſenſible between the two Neighbouring Languages, whoſe Letters were of the ſame value, Power and Efficacy, only differing ſomewhat in their formation. From that time the Holy Scripture was only to be found among the *Jews* in the *Chaldee* Letters;

Years of Rome.

Years before J. C. But the *Samaritans* ſtill kept their old way of Writing. Their Poſterity have perſever'd in the ſame Cuſtom, even down to our days; and by that means have preſerv'd the *Pentateuch*, which they call the *Samaritan*, in antient *Hebrew* Characters, ſuch as they found them in Medals, and in all the Monuments of paſt Ages. Years of Rome.

The Jews liv'd very peaceably and quietly under the Authority of *Artaxerxes*. That Prince being forc'd by *Cymon*, the Son of *Miltiades*, General of the *Athenians*, to make a ſhameful Peace, utterly deſpair'd of over-coming the *Greeks* by force, and ſo only thought of making his advantage by their Feuds and Diviſions. There happen'd very great Convulſions between the *Athenians* and *Lacedemonians*. Thoſe two People, jealous each of other, ſhared
431. all *Greece*. *Pericles*, an *Athenian*, began 323.
the *Peloponniſian* War; during which *Theramenes*, *Thraſybulus* and *Alcibiades*, *Athenians*, made themſelves famous and conſiderable. *Braſydas* and *Mindarus*, *Lacedemonians*, dyed there in fighting for their Country. This War laſted ſeven and twenty years, and ended to the advantage of the *Lacedemonians*, who had brought on their ſide *Darius*, ſirnam'd the Baſtard, the Son and Succeſſor of *Artaxerxes*. *Ly-*
404. *ſander*, General of the *Lacedemonian* Fleet, 350.
took *Athens*, and chang'd it's Government. But *Perſia* ſoon was ſenſible that it had made the *Lacedemonians* too powerful: *they* upheld the young *Cy-*
401. *rus* in his Revolt againſt *Artaxerxes*, his 353.
eldeſt

Years before J. C. eldeſt Brother, called *Mnemon* becauſe of his great and admirable Memory, the Son and Succeſſor of *Darius*. This young Perſon, being deliver'd, both from priſon and death, by his Mother *Paryſatis*, reſolves upon Revenge, gains the Noblemen to him by his infinitely obliging Carriage, traverſes *Aſia* the leſs, and offers battle to the King his Brother, even in the heart of his Empire, wounds him with his own hand, and believing himſelf too ſoon a Conqueror, periſh'd by his own raſhneſs. The ten thouſand *Greeks* that ſerv'd him, make that aſtoniſhing retreat, where, at laſt, commanded *Xenophon*, that great Philoſopher, and great Captain, who hath written the *Hiſtory* of it. The *Lacedemonians* continu'd their at-
396. tacks upon the *Perſian* Empire, which 358.
Ageſilus, the King of *Sparta*, made to tremble in the leſſer *Aſia*; but the Diviſions of *Greece* call'd him back into his own Country. About the time the City of the *Veji*, which almoſt equall'd the Glory of *Rome*, after a ten years Siege, was taken by the *Romans* under the Conduct of *Camillus*. His Generoſity gain'd him yet another Conqueſt. The *Faliſci*, whom
394. he beſieg'd, render'd themſelves to him, 360.
being touch'd at what he had done, in ſending them back their Children, whom a School-Maſter had deliver'd to him; but *Rome* would not conquer by Treacheries, nor take advantages from the perfidiouſneſs of a Wretch, that turn'd the

Obedi-

Years of Rome.

Years before J. C. — *Years of Rome.*

391. Obedience of an innocent Age into such an Abuse. A little after, the *Gauls Senonians* came into *Italy*, and besieg'd 363.

390. *Clusium*, and the *Romans* lost against them 364.
the famous battle of *Allia*. Their City was taken and burnt. And, whilst they were defending themselves in the Capitol, their Affairs were re-establish'd by *Camil-*
Polyb. l. 1. c. 6. l. 2. c. 18, 22. *lus*, whom they had banish'd. The *Gauls* continu'd seven months Master of *Rome*, when, whether for Fear of *Camillus*, or call'd away by other Affairs, they retreated, and with loss, yet not without carrying away

371. with them good Store of Spoil. The *Roman* 383.
Accounts will have it, that they were intirely routed and ruin'd. During the Commotions of *Greece*, *Epaminondas*, a *Theban*, made himself signal by his Equity, Moderation and Temper, as much as by his Victories. It was observ'd he held this for a constant Rule, never to tell a Lie, so much as in jest. His Actions became dazzling and illustrious in the last years of *Mnemon*, and

359. in the first of *Ochus*. Under this so great 395.
a Captain the *Thebans* were Victorious, and the Power of *Lacedemonia* abated, and grew less. That of the *Macedonian* Kings began with *Philip*, the Father of *Alexander* the Great. And, notwithstanding all the Oppositions of *Ochus* and *Arses* his Son, Kings of *Persia*, and the greater Difficulties still which the Eloquence of *Demosthenes*, that mighty Defender of Li-

338. berty, raised against him in *Athens*, this 416.
victorious Prince, for twenty Years together, kept all *Greece* in subjection, where the

Years before J. C. Years of Rome.

the Battle of *Cheronca*, which he gain'd over the *Athenians*, and their Allies, gave him a more abſolute Power. At this famous Field, whilſt he was breaking the *Athenians*, he had the joy and happineſs to ſee *Alexander* at eighteen Years of Age ruſhing in upon the *Theban* Troops, and, among others, upon that, which they call'd *the ſacred Troop of Friends*, which they look'd on as Invincible. Thus, being Maſter of *Greece*, and ſupported by a Son of ſuch great hopes, his Deſigns muſt needs be high, and he reſolved on nothing leſs than the abſolute Ruin of the *Perſians*,

337. 417.

againſt whom he got himſelf declared *Generaliſſimo*. But this was reſerv'd for *Alexander*: For, in the midſt of the So-

336. 418.

lemnities of a new Marriage, *Philip* was aſſaſſinated by *Pauſanias*, a young Man of a good Family, to whom he had not done Juſtice. The Eunuch *Bagaos*, the ſame year, killed *Arſes*, King of *Perſia*, and cauſed *Darius*, the Son of *Arſames*, ſirnamed *Codomanus*, to ſucceed him in a Kingdom which he was worthy of for his Valour; beſides that there is good Reaſon to believe that he was of the Royal Family. So that there were two couragious and magnanimous Kings began their Reigns together, *Darius*, the Son of *Arſames*, and *Alexander*, the Son of *Philip*. They look'd upon each other with Eyes of Jealouſy, and they ſeem as born to diſpute the Empire of the World betwixt them. But *Alexander* reſolv'd to ſtrengthen himſelf well, before he would engage with his Rival.

Years before J. C. Rival. He revenged the Death of his Father, reduc'd those rebellious People, that contemn'd his Youth; he overcame the *Greeks*, that vainly attempted to shake off their Yoke; and ruin'd *Thebes*, where he spar'd none but the House and descendant Issue of *Pindarus*, whose Odes were the Admiration of *Greece*. Mighty and Victorious, he marched, after these famous Exploits, at the Head of the *Greeks*, against *Darius*, whom he overthrew in three several Battles in Array, enters triumphantly into *Babylon* and *Susa*, destroys *Persepolis*, an ancient Seat and Palace of the Kings of *Persia*, pushes on his Conquests as far as the *Indies*, and at last returns to, and dies at *Babylon*, being but Three and thirty Years of Age.

Years of Rome.

335. 419.
334. 420.
333. 421.
331. 423.
330. 424.
327. 427.
324. 430.
323. 431.

In his time *Manasses*, the Brother of *Jaddus* the High-Priest, rais'd Commotions among the *Jews*. He had married the Daughter of *Sanballat* the *Samaritan*, whom *Darius* had made a Nobleman of that Country. Rather than he would repudiate that beautiful Stranger, to which the Council of *Jerusalem*, and his Brother *Jaddus* would fain have oblig'd him, he embraced the Schism of the *Samaritans*. And several of the *Jews*, to shun the like Censures, join'd themselves to him. He was resolv'd at that time to build a Temple near *Samaria*, upon Mount *Gerizim*, which the *Samaritans* believ'd was blest, and so to make himself the High-Priest of it. His Father-in-law, a most intimate Friend of *Darius*, assur'd him of this

Years before J. C. this Prince's Protection; and the Effect and Conſequence was ſtill more favourable to him; for *Sanballat* deſerted his Maſter, and brought his Troops over to the Victorious *Alexander*, at the Siege of *Tyre*. Thus he obtain'd whatſoever he deſir'd, the Temple of *Gerizim* was built, and the Ambition of *Manaſſes* was ſatisfied. The *Jews*, in the mean time, being ever faithful to the *Perſians*, refus'd to give *Alexander* the Succour he demanded of them. He went to *Jeruſalem*, full of Reſolution, to take his Revenge; but his Mind was alter'd when he beheld the High-Prieſt coming out to meet him, with the other Prieſts that offer'd Sacrifices, all cloath'd with their proper Veſtments, and in Proceſſion before the People in white. They ſhewed to him the Prophecies that foretold his Victories, out of *Daniel*. So that he granted to the *Jews* all their Requeſts, and they kept with him the ſame Fidelity as they had always done before to the Kings of *Perſia*.

Years of Rome. 422.

326. In the midſt of theſe his Conqueſts, 428.
325. *Rome* was engaged with her Neighbours 429.
324. the *Samnites*, and were extremely put to it 430.
to reduce them, notwithſtanding the Valour and Conduct of *Papyrius Curſor*, the moſt famous of her Generals. After the Death of *Alexander*, his Empire was divided. *Perdiccas*, *Ptolomee*, the Son of *Lagus*, *Antigonus*, *Seleucus*, *Lyſimachus*, *Antipater*, and his Son *Caſſander*; in a word, 430.
324. all his Captains, that were bred up in War under ſo great and mighty a Conqueror, deſign'd

Years before J. C. / *Years of Rome.*

design'd to make themselves Masters of it, by their Arms: They sacrific'd to their Ambition all the Family of *Alexander*, his Brother, his Mother, his Wives, his Children, and even his Sisters; so that there was nothing to be seen but Fields of Blood, and dreadful Revolutions. In the midst of so many disorders, several of the People of lesser *Asia*, and thereabouts, freed themselves, and form'd the Kingdoms of *Pontus*, *Bithynia*, and *Pergamus*. The Goodness of the Country made them afterwards Rich and Powerful. *Armenia* likewise at the same time shook off the *Macedonian* Yoke, and became a very great Kingdom. The two *Mithridates*'s, Father and Son, founded that of *Cappadocia*. But the two most puissant Monarchies that were then rais'd, were that of *Egypt*, founded by *Ptolomee*, the Son of *Lagus*, from whence came the *Lagides*; and that of *Asia* or *Syria*, founded by *Seleucus*, from whence proceeded the *Seleucides*. This latter compris'd, besides *Syria*, those vast and rich Provinces of higher *Asia*, which made up the *Persian* Empire: so all the *East* own'd *Greece*, and learned the Language of it. Nay, even *Greece* itself fell under oppression by the Captains of *Alexander*. And *Macedonia*, his antient Kingdom, which gave Laws, as well as Masters to the *East*, was left a Prey to the first Comer. *Cassander*'s Children drive each other out of that Kingdom. *Pyrrhus*, King of *Epirus*, who had possess'd one part of it, was driven out

Years before J. C.	*Years of Rome.*
324.	430.
318.	436.
316.	438.
311.	443.
309.	445.
323.	431.
312.	442.

Years before J. C. | Years of Rome.

out by *Demetrius Poliorcetes*, the Son of *Antigonus*, whom also he expell'd in his turn: This is he who was likewise once forc'd out by *Lysimachus*, and *Lysimachus* by *Seleucus*; which *Seleucus*, *Ptolomy Ceraunus*, traytor-like kill'd, notwithstanding his Kindnesses to him, when driven out of *Egypt* by *Ptolomy* the first, his Father. That perfidious Man had no sooner invaded *Macedonia*, but he was attack'd by the *Gauls*, and slain in a Fight he had with them. For during the troubles in the *East*, they came into lesser *Asia*, led on by their King *Brennus*, and settled themselves in *Gallo-Greece*, or *Galatia*, call'd so from their own Name; from hence they went to *Macedonia*, which they ravag'd, and made all *Greece* to tremble. But their Army was destroy'd in the sacrilegious Attempts on the Temple of *Delphi*. This Nation was active, and yet in every thing unfortunate. Some years before the business of *Delphi*, the *Gauls* of *Italy*, whose continual Wars, and frequent Victories had made them the Dread and Terrour of the *Romans*, being animated against them by the *Sammites*, the *Brutians*, and *Etrurians*, slew their Ambassadors. This action quite sullied the Glory of the Victory they got over *L. Cœcilius*, the Prætor, whom with Thirteen thousand Men they cut in pieces. The *Romans*, inrag'd, march'd against them, under the Consul, *Dolobella*, defeated them; entred into their Teritories, where they founded a *Colony*; beat them also a second time, subjecting one part of them, and forcing the other to sue for Peace.

296. 458.
294. 460.
289. 465.
286. 468.
281. 473.
280. 474.
279. 475.
278. 476.
283. 477.
Polyb. l. 2. 20.
282. 472.

After

Years before J. C. / *Years of Rome.*

277. / 477. After that the *Gauls* of the *East* had been driven out of *Greece* *Antigonus Gonatas*, the Son of *Demetrius Poliorcetes*, who reign'd about twelve Years before in *Greece*, but very unquietly, now without any difficulty invades *Macedonia*.

280. / 474. *Pyrrhus* was otherwise engag'd, for being forc'd out of that Kingdom, he was in good hopes to satisfie his Ambition with the Conquest of *Italy*, whether he was call'd by the *Tarentines*. Here he soon found that

279. / 475. his Victories over the *Romans* would be his ruin. *Pyrrhus*'s Elephants affrighted them; but the Consul *Fabricius* made the *Romans* soon see that *Pyrrhus* was not unconquerable. The *King* and the *Consul* seem'd to dispute the Glory of Generosity, rather than that of Arms: *Pyrrhus* rendred to the Consul all his Prisoners without a Ransom, saying, It became him to make War with the Sword, and not with

278. / 476. Money; and *Fabricius* sent back to the King his treacherous Physician, who had offer'd to poison his Master for him. About this time, the *Jewish* Religion and Nation began to appear among the *Greeks*. Those People, being civilly treated by the Kings of *Syria*, liv'd in Tranquility and Peace according to their Laws. *Antiochus*, the Good, Grandson of *Seleucus*, sent them up and down into the lesser *Asia*, from whence they got themselves into *Greece*, and every where enjoy'd the same Rights, Privileges and Liberty, as the other Citizens. *Ptolomee*, the Son of *Lagus*, had

Joseph. Ant. 12.

277. / 477. already settled them in *Egypt*. Under his Son,

Years before J. C. Son, *Ptolomee Philadelphus*, their Scriptures were turn'd into *Greek*, and then came out that excellent Version, called the *Septuagint* Version. This was done by those learned old Men, whom *Eleazar* the High-Priest sent to the King, who had desir'd them. Some would have had only the five Books of *Moses* translated then for the use of the *Jews* that were scatter'd all over *Egypt* and *Greece*, and who had forgot not only their own ancient Language, which was the *Hebrew*, but also the *Chaldee*, which the Captivity had taught them. And, during this Dispersion of the *Jews*, their Temple was made famous over all the *Land*, and all the Kings of the *East* presented there their Offerings. The *West* was intent on the War of *Rome* and *Pyrrhus*. In short, this King was defeated by the Consul *Curius*, so went back to *E-*

275. *pirus*. But he was not there long at quiet, before he resolv'd to make *Macedonia* recompence him for the ill Successes he met with in *Italy*. *Antigonus Gonatus* was block'd up in *Thessalonica*, and forc'd

274. to leave to *Pyrrhus* all the rest of the Kingdom. But he took heart again; and, when the restless and ambitious *Pyr-*

272. *rhus* was making War upon the *Lacedemonians*, and those of *Argos*, the two *hostile* Kings were brought into *Argos* at one and the same time, by two contrary *Cabals*, and at two several Gates. The Action there was very sharp, when a certain Mother, who saw her Son pursu'd

Years of Rome.

Joſ. Ant. l. 1. c. 1. l. 12. c. 2.

479.

480.

482.

Years before J. C. by *Pyrrhus*, whom he had wounded, kill'd that Prince with a Stone thrown from above. *Antigonus*, thus being rid of his Enemy, re-enters *Macedonia*, and after some Changes and Revolutions, was at Peace. The Confederacy of the *Achaians*, kept him from growing great. *This* was the last Rampier of the *Grecian* Liberty, and it was that which produced the last *Heroes* of it with *Aratus*, and *Philopæmen*. The *Tarentines*, whom *Pyrrhus* fed with hopes, called in the *Carthaginians*, after his Death. But that Succour did them very little good: for they were beaten with the *Brutians* and the *Samnites*, their Allies. *These*, after seventy and two Years continual Wars, were forc'd to submit to the *Roman* Yoke. *Tarentum* soon follow'd, and the Neighbouring People could not hold out, and so all the *ancient* Inhabitants of *Italy* were brought in under the *Roman* Power. The *Gauls*, often beaten, durst not stir. And, after Four hundred and eighty Years of War, the *Romans* saw themselves Masters of *Italy*, and began to consider the Affairs abroad: They were not a little jealous of the *Carthaginians*, who were grown very powerful in their Neighbourhood, by the Conquests they had made in *Sicily*, from whence they were coming to fall upon them, and *Italy*, in the Relief of the *Tarentines*. The Republick of *Carthage* had two Sides of the *Mediteranean* Sea, besides that of *Africa* which she almost entirely possess'd, and extended herself towards *Spain*, by the *Streights*.

Years of Rome.

Polyb. lib. 1. 1, 2,

Years before J. C. Streights. Being thus Mistress of the Sea, and of Commerce, she had invaded the Isles of *Corsica* and *Sardinia*. *Sicily* could scarce defend itself, and *Italy* was too nearly threatned not to be under some Apprehension. From thence proceeded the *Punic* Wars, notwithstanding the Trea-
264. ties, which were ill observ'd on *both* sides. 490.
This first taught the *Romans* to fight at *Sea*, and they were presently Masters of an Art, which before they knew little,
260. or nothing, of; and the Consul *Duilius*, 494.
259. who was the first that gave Battle at Sea, 495.
256. gained it. *Regulus* got the like Reputation, 498.
when he landed in *Africa*, where he was forc'd, we are told, to fight with a Serpent, prodigious enough to employ an Army. But every thing yielded; and *Carthage*, reduced to her last Extremi-
255. ty, did just make shift to save herself 499.
by the Assistance and seasonable Relief of *Xantippus* the *Lacedemonian*. The *Roman* General is beaten, and taken, but his Prison renders him more great and illustrious than his Victories. For, being upon his Parole sent back to treat about the exchange of Prisoners, he told the Senate the Consequence of such conditions, would be all *Hopes* and *Grace* to them that would voluntarily surrender themselves; so dissuaded the *Senate*, and return'd to a most certain Death. Victory hung a long while in suspence between the two People; when two dreadful Shipwrecks had well nigh forc'd the *Romans* to yield up their new Empire of the Sea

Years before J. C. 241. to the *Carthaginians*; but they repair'd their Fleet; and one ſingle Battle decided the Buſineſs, under the Conſul *Luctatius Catulus*, who concluded the War. *Carthage* was oblig'd to pay Tribute, and to quit, with *Sicily*, all the Iſles, that were between *Sicily* and *Italy*. The *Romans* got that *Iſland* entirely, ſaving only what *Hieron*, King of *Syracuſe*, their Ally, kept of it. The War thus ended, the *Carthaginians* had nothing to expect but Deſtruction from their own Army; Which, according to Cuſtom, conſiſting of Strangers, revolted for their Pay; And almoſt all their *Cities*, weary of the Severity of their Government, joining thoſe mutinous Troops, *Carthage* was cloſely beſieged; and had utterly been loſt, had it not been for *Hamilcar*, ſirnamed *Barcas*. *They* were indebted to him alone for the Victory, they got over the *Rebels*. But the Garriſon of *Sardinia* revolted and open'd this Iſland to the *Romans*: which Iſle tho' of great Importance, yet *Carthage*, for fear of a new War, was forc'd to give up, and alſo to inlarge her *Tribute*. *Carthage* then deſign'd to re-eſtabliſh her Power and Empire in *Spain*. *Hamilcar* went into that *Province* with his Son *Hannibal* of but nine years of Age; and during the nine Years, in which he managed that War with as much Addreſs as Valour, he made his *Son* a great Captain, and fix'd in him an implacable Hatred againſt the *Romans*. *He* falling there in a Battle, was ſucceeded by *Aſdrubal*, his Kinſman,

Polyb. lib. i. *c.* 62, 63. *lib.* ii. *c.* 1.

Polyb. lib. i. 79, 83. 88.

238.

230.

Years of Rome. 513. 516. 524.

Years before J. C. Kinſman, who commanded with great Prudence, and built new *Carthage*, which kept *Spain* under. The *Romans* were taken up in the War againſt *Teuta*, Queen of *Illyrium*, who exercis'd Piracy with an high Hand over all the Coaſt. Fluſh'd with the Spoil ſhe made *upon* the *Greeks*, and thoſe of *Epirus*, ſhe deſpis'd the *Romans*, and ſlew their Ambaſſador: But ſhe was ſoon ruduc'd; and the *Romans* left her but a very ſmall part of *Illyrium*, and took
229. from her the Iſle of *Corfinium*. They then 525.
228. made themſelves to be reſpected in *Greece*, 526.
by a ſolemn Embaſſage, and this was the firſt time that their Power was acknowledg'd there. The great Succeſſes of *Aſdrubal* gave them great Umbrage; but the *Gauls* of *Italy* kept them from medling with the Affairs of *Spain*. The *Gauls* had continu'd quiet forty five Years; and the Youth that had been bred up in that time, never thought of paſt Loſſes, but began again to menace *Rome*.

Years of Rome.

Polyb. lib. ii. 12, 22.

Id eod. lib. 21.

The *Romans*, that they might with ſecurity attack ſuch turbulent Neighbours, made themſelves ſure of the *Carthaginians*. The Treaty was concluded with *Aſdrubal*, who promis'd not to paſs beyond the
224. *Heber*. The War between the *Romans* and 530.
the *Gauls* went furiouſly on on both ſides: the *Tranſalpines* join'd with the *Ciſalpines*; and all were beaten. *Concolitanus*, one of the Kings of the *Gauls*, was taken in the fight: *Aneroeſtus*, another King, was his own Murtherer: the Victorious *Romans* now paſs the River *Po*, being reſolv'd to

Years before J. C. | *Years of Rome.*

take from the *Gauls* all the County adjacent to that River, of which for so many Ages they had been in poſſeſſion: Victory was their attendant whereſoever they went: *Milan* was taken; and almoſt all the Country was brought into ſubjection. About that time *Aſdrubal* died; and *Hannibal*, though not five and twenty
220. years old, was put in his place. From 534.
that time War was foreſeen. This new General openly ſet himſelf to ſubdue *Spain*, without any reſpect of *Terms*. *Rome* then hearken'd to the Complaints of *Saguntum*,
219. her Ally; And the *Roman* Ambaſſadors 535.
went to *Carthage*. The re-eſtabliſh'd *Carthaginians* were now no longer in a humour of yielding. *Sicily* raviſh'd out of their Hands, *Sardinia* unjuſtly forc'd from them, and Tribute enhanc'd, lay heavy at their Hearts. So that the Faction, which was for abandoning *Hannibal*, prov'd very weak. That General deſign'd at all. By ſecret Emiſſaries he was aſſur'd of the *Gauls* of *Italy*, who being no longer able to attempt any thing by their own Forces, were glad of this opportunity to relieve and revenge themſelves. *Hannibal* traverſes all the *Heber*, the *Pyrenees*, all *Gallia Tranſalpine*, the *Alpes*, and upon a ſudden falls
218. into *Italy*. Four loſt Battles made it be- 536.
217. liev'd, that *Rome* was very near her Ruin. 537.
216. *Sicily* ſides with the Conqueror. *Hieron*, 538.
215. King of *Syracuſe*, declares himſelf againſt 539.
212. the *Romans*; almoſt all *Italy* abandons 542.
them; and the laſt Reſſource of that Republick ſeem'd to give up itſelf in *Spain*

with

Years before J. C. with the two *Scipio*'s slain, and their Armies routed. Amidst these extremities, *Rome* was indebted for her Preservation to *three* great Men. The Constancy of *Fabius Maximus*, who, putting himself above *Popular* Rumours, made War by retreating, and, closely watching the Enemies motions, 214. was a Rampier to his Country. *Mar-* 212. *cellus*, who rais'd the Siege of *Nola*, and took *Syracuse*, and by those Actions put Courage and Vigour into the Soldiers. But *Rome*, which admir'd those two wonderful Persons thought they saw in the young *Scipio* some thing more surprizing. The astonishing Successes of his Counsels confirm'd the Opinion they had of him. At twenty 211. four Years of Age he undertook to go into 210. *Spain*, where his Father and Uncle had but newly been slain: He attack'd New *Carthage*, as if inspir'd, and soon becomes Master of *that* and the Field. All that saw him turn'd strait to the *Romans* side: The *Carthaginians* yield up *Spain*; he passes over into *Africa*, Kings become his Homagers: *Carthage* itself trembles in her turn, and sees her Arms defeated: Victorious *Hannibal*, after sixteen Years, is in vain call'd back, and cannot defend his Country: *Scipio* beats him, gives Laws unto it, 202. and is honour'd with the Sirname of *Africanus*. The *Romans*, having conquer'd the *Gauls* and *Africans*, see themselves beyond further apprehension, thence become secure.

Years of Rome. 540. 542. 543. 544. 552.

250. About the middle of the first *Punick* War, *Theodotus* Governour of *Bactria* headed a thousand Cities against *Antiochus*, sir-

504.

Years before J. C. named the God, the Son of *Antiochus Soter*, King of *Syria*. Almoſt all the *Eaſt* follow'd this Example. The *Parthians* revolted under the Conduct of *Arſaces*, who was Chief of the Houſe of the *Arſacidæ*, and Founder of an Empire, which, by degrees, extended itſelf into all the *Upper Aſia*. *Years of Rome.*

The Kings of *Syria*, and thoſe of *Egypt*, fleſhed one againſt the other, meditated on nothing but mutual Ruin, either by Force, or Fraud. *Damaſcus*, and its Territory, which was call'd *Cœlo-Syria*, and which was a Confine to the two Kingdoms, was the ſubject of their Wars; and the Affairs of *Aſia* were abſolutely diſtinct and ſeparate from thoſe of *Europe*.

During theſe Times, *Philoſophy* flouriſh'd in *Greece*; the Sect of the *Italian* Philoſophers, and that of the *Ioniques*, fill'd it with great Men, among whom there were mix'd ſeveral extravagant Perſons, to whom *Greece* was too judicious to vouchſafe the Name of *Philoſophers*. In the Time of *Cyrus* and *Cambyſes*, *Pythagorus* began the *Italick* Sect in the Upper *Greece*, all about *Naples*. And very near the ſame Time, *Thales*, the *Mileſian*, form'd that of the *Ionique*. From thence proceeded thoſe great Philoſophers. *Heraclitus*, *Democritus*, *Empedocles*, *Parmenides*, *Anaxagoras*, who, a little before the *Peloponneſian* War, diſcover'd the World to be made by an eternal *Spirit*. *Socrates* in a ſhort Time after reduc'd Philoſophy to the Study of good *Manners*, and was the Father of *Moral* Philoſophy; as was *Plato*, his Diſciple, the chief

Years before J. C. chief of the *Academy*; *Ariſtotle*, *Plato's* Diſciple, and Maſter of *Alexander*, the Founder of the *Peripateticks*; under the Succeſſors of *Alexander*, *Zeno*, ſirnamed *Citian*, from a Town in the Iſle of *Cyprus*, where he was born, became the chief of the *Stoicks*; and *Epicurus* the *Athenian*, chief of thoſe Philoſophers that bear his *Name*; if we may count thoſe Philoſophers, who openly deny a *Providence*, and who, being ignorant what Duty was, defined Virtue by an indolent *Pleaſure*. We may alſo reckon among the greateſt Philoſophers *Hippocrates*, the Father of *Phyſick*, who was eminently famous amongſt others in thoſe happy Times of *Greece*. The *Romans* had at the ſame Time another ſort of Philoſophy, which did not conſiſt in Diſputes, nor in Diſcourſes, but in Frugality, in Poverty, in the Labours of a Country Life; and in thoſe of War, wherein they made their *own* Glory, that of their *Country*, and of the *Roman* Name, to conſiſt; which made them at laſt the Maſters both of *Italy* and *Carthage*. Years of Rome.

In the Year 552 from the Foundation of *Rome*, about 250 Years after the Foundation of the *Perſian* Monarchy, and 202 Years before *Jeſus Chriſt*, *Carthage* became ſubject to the *Romans*. *Hannibal* never ceaſed underhand to ſtir them up Enemies whereſoever he could: but he only enſnar'd all his old and new Friends in the ruin of their Country, and his own too. By the Victories of the Conſul *Flaminius*, *Philip*, King of *Macedonia*, an Ally of the *Carthagi-*

IX. Epocha. Scipio, or Carthage, conquer'd. 552.

202. 198. 196. 556. 558.

Years before J. C. — Years of Rome.

Carthaginians, was overcome; the Kings of *Macedonia* brought to great ſtraits; and *Greece* freed from their Yoke. The *Romans* attempted to deſtroy *Hannibal*, whom they found to be ſtill fear'd. That great Captain, forc'd to ſave himſelf by flight from his Country, ſtirr'd up the *Eaſt* againſt
195. them, ſo brought the *Roman* Arms in- 559.
193. to *Aſia*. By his powerful Arguments 556.
and Perſwaſions, *Antiochus*, ſirnamed the Great, King of *Syria*, became jealous of their Forces, and made War with them; but, in the Conduct of it, he follow'd not the Counſels of *Hannibal*, who had engaged him in it. Beaten both by Sea and Land, he receiv'd ſuch Laws as the Conſul *Lucius Scipio*, the Brother of *Scipio Africanus*, impos'd upon him, by which he was ſhut up within
182. Mount *Taurus*. *Hannibal* fled for refuge to 572.
Pruſias King of *Bythinia*, where, to eſcape the *Romans*, he poiſon'd himſelf. They are fear'd by all People, and will not ſuffer any other Power beſides their own. Kings were obliged to give them their Children, as Hoſtages of their Faith. *Antiochus*, ſince call'd the Illuſtrius, or *Epiphanius*, the ſecond Son of *Antiochus*, the great, King of *Syria*, continu'd a long while at *Rome* in that Quality: but, about the end of the Reign
176. of *Seleucus Philopater*, his elder Brother, 578.
he was reſtored: and the *Romans* would
175. have in his room *Demetrius Soter*, the King's 579.
Son, then about ten years of Age. *Seleucus* died; and *Antiochus* uſurp'd the Kingdom over his Nephew, while the *Romans* were taken up in the Affairs of the *Macedonians*,

Years before J. C. | Years of Rome.

donians, where *Perseus* was troubling his Neighbours, and would no longer keep to those Conditions that had been impos'd upon King *Philip*, his Father.

173. Then began the Persecutions of God's People. *Antiochus*, the mighty, reign'd like one inrag'd: All his Fury was bent against the *Jews*; he endeavour'd to destroy the Temple, the *Mosaic* Law, and indeed all 581.
171. the Nation. The *Roman* Power kept him from making himself Master of *Egypt*. They 583.
168. entred into a War with *Perseus*, who, more ready to attempt than to execute, lost his 586.
Allies by his Covetousness, and his Armies by his Baseness; And, conquer'd by the Consul *Paulus Æmelius*, he was forc'd to deliver up himself into his hands. *Gentius* King of *Illyria*, his Ally, being utterly routed in thirty days by the Prætor *Anicius*, had just then met with the same Fate. The Kingdom of *Macedonia*, which had continued for seven hundred Years, and for near two hundred of them had not only given Masters to *Greece*, but also to all the *East*, was now no more than a bare *Roman* Province. The outragious Furies of *Antiochus* daily increas'd against the
167. *Jews*. Then appear'd the Resistance of *Mat-* 587.
166. *tathias* the High-Priest, of the Race of *Phi-* 588.
neas, and an Imitator of his Zeal; his dying Orders for the Preservation of his People; the Victories of *Judas*, the *Maccabee*, his Son, notwithstanding the infinite number of
165. his Enemies; the Advance of the Family of 589.
164. the *Asmonæans*, or *Maccabees*; then were seen 590.
the new Dedication of the Temple, which the *Gentiles* had profaned; the Prelacy of *Judas*,

Years before J. C. *das*, and the Greatneſs of the Prieſthood re-eſtabliſh'd; the Death of *Antiochus* ſuitable to his Impiety and his Pride; his pretended Converſion during his laſt Sickneſs, and the Fierceneſs of Divine Vengeance upon that inſolent King. His Son, *Antiochus Eupater*, tho' much under Age, ſucceeds him, under the Guardianſhip of *Lyſias* his Governour. During this his Minority, *Demetrius Soter*, who was Hoſtage at *Rome*, thought he might have been able to re-eſtabliſh himſelf; but he could not obtain to be ſent back into his own Kingdom, the *Senate* chuſing rather to have a *Minor* on that
163. Throne. Under this *Antiochus Eupator*, the
Perſecution of the Jews, and the Victories of
162. *Judas* the *Maccabee*, continued. A Diviſion was ſet a foot in *Syria*. *Demetrius* eſcapes from *Rome*, is acknowledg'd by the People, and the young *Antiochus* is ſlain with *Lyſias* his Tutor. But the *Jews* are no better treated under *Demetrius*, than they were under his Predeceſſors: He takes the ſame Courſe; his Generals are beaten by *Judas*, the *Maccabee*; and the Hand and Arm of the proud *Nicanor* is hung up to *Him*, againſt whoſe Temple it had been ſo menacingly ſtretcht.
161. But a little after, *Judas*, overpower'd by Multitude, was kill'd as he was fighting with an aſtoniſhing Courage. His Brother *Jonathan* ſucceeded to his Charge, and ſupported his Reputation. When reduc'd to extremity, his Courage left him not. The *Romans* are not a little pleas'd with theſe opportunities of humbling the Kings of *Syria*, grant to the *Jews* their Protection; and the

Years of Rome. 591. 592. 593.

Alliance,

Years before J. C. / Years of Rome.

Alliance, which *Judas* had ſent to demand of them, was concluded; but without any Succour: Yet the Glory of the *Roman* Name was a conſiderable Support to the afflicted People. The Troubles of *Syria* daily grew greater and greater. *Alexander Balaſus*, who boaſted himſelf to be the Son of *Antiochus*

154. the illuſtrious, was ſet upon the Throne by *Antiochus*'s Party. The Kings of *Egypt*, perpetual Enemies of *Syria*, intereſſed themſelves in thoſe Diviſions, to make their own

150. Advantages. *Ptolomee Philometor* upheld *Balaſus*. The War was bloody. *Demetrius Soter* was ſlain in it, and left none to revenge his Death but two very young Princes, *Demetrius Nicator*, and *Antiochus Sidetes*. So that the Uſurper continu'd in Peace, and the King of *Egypt* gave him his Daughter *Cleopatra*. *Balaſus*, elated and ſecure, plung'd himſelf into Debaucheries, and brought thereby upon himſelf

150. the Scorn of his Subjects. About this time *Philometor* judg'd that famous Cauſe which the *Samaritans* had with the *Jews*. Thoſe *Schiſmaticks*, ever oppoſite to God's *peculiar* People, did not fail to join with their Enemies; and, to pleaſe *Antiochus*

157. the Illuſtrious, their Perſecutor, they had conſecrated their Temple of *Gerazim* to *Jupiter Hoſpitalis*. Notwithſtanding this Profanation, theſe wicked Wretches deſiſted not from maintaining, ſome time after, at *Alexandria*, before *Ptolomeus Philometor*, that, this their Temple ought to be preferred to that of *Jeruſalem*. The Parties diſputed in the Preſence of the King,

600. 604. 604. 597.

2 *Maccab.* vi. 2. *Joſ. Ant.* xii. 7.

both

Years before J. C. / *Years of Rome.*

both of them having engaged on their *Lives* to juſtifie their Pretenſions by the Terms of the Law of *Moſes*. The *Jews* gain'd their Cauſe, and the *Samaritans* were accordingly puniſh'd with Death. The ſame King permitted *Onias*, of the Sacerdotal Race, to build in *Egypt* the Temple of *Heliopolis*, after the Model of that of *Jeruſalem*: An Enterpriſe condemn'd by all the *Jewiſh* Council, and adjudg'd contrary to the *Law*. In the mean while *Carthage* began to ſtir again, being very uneaſie under the hard Terms which *Scipio Africanus* had impos'd upon her. The *Romans*, reſolv'd on nothing leſs than her total Overthrow, enter into the *third Punick* War.

Joſeph Ant. lib. 13. c. 6. Ibid.

148. The young *Demetrius Nicator* now of Age, was contriving how to re-eſtabliſh himſelf upon the Throne of his Anceſtors; the Softneſs and Effeminacy of the Uſurper made him to hope every thing. At his Approach *Balaſus* was troubled: his Father-in-Law, *Philometor*, declar'd againſt him, becauſe *Balaſus* would not let him take his Kingdom: The ambitious *Cleopatra*, his Queen, left him, and marry'd his Enemy; he was ſlain at laſt by the hand of one of his own Creatures, after the loſs of a Battle. *Philometor* alſo died a few days after of the Wounds he receiv'd in it.

606.

146. 608.

Thus *Syria* was deliver'd of *two* Enemies. Two *great* Cities were ſeen to fall about the ſame time. *Carthage* was taken, and reduc'd to Aſhes by *Scipio Æmilianus*, who by that Victory confirm'd the Name of *Africanus* to his Poſterity, and ſhew'd himſelf

Years before J. C. himſelf the worthy Inheritor of the Great *Scipio* his Grandfather. *Corinth* had the ſame Deſtiny, and the Republique of *Achaia* was deſtroy'd with it. The Conſul *Mummius* raz'd that City, the moſt voluptuous, and the moſt beautiful of all *Greece*. He tranſported to *Rome* their incomparable *Statues*, without ever knowing the Value of them. The *Romans*, ignorant of the Arts of *Greece*, contented themſelves with the knowledge of War, Polity, and Agriculture. During the Troubles of *Syria* the *Jews* fortify'd themſelves: *Jonathan* ſaw himſelf ſought after by both Parties, and Victorious *Nicator* treated him as a Brother: He was quickly requited. For
144. in a Sedition, the *Jews* in a Body reſcu'd him from the Hands of the Rebels. Then *Jonathan* was overwhelm'd with Honours; but, when the *King* found himſelf ſecure, he took up alſo the Deſigns of his Anceſtors, and the *Jews* were as bad treated as before. The Troubles of *Syria* began again: *Diodotus*, ſirnamed *Tryphon*, rais'd up a Son of *Balaſus*, whom he call'd
143. *Antiochus* the God, and made himſelf his Tutor during his Infancy. The Pride of *Demetrius* had loſt him his People; all *Syria* was as it were on Fire. *Jonathan* knew how to take Advantage of this Conjuncture, and renew'd the Alliance with the *Romans*, Every thing was proſperous to him; when *Tryphon*, by a breach of Promiſe, caus'd him to be ſlain with his Children. His Brother *Simon*, the moſt prudent and happy of the *Maccabees*, ſucceeded him; and the

Years of Rome. 610. 611.

Years before J. C. Years of Rome.

the *Romans* favour'd *him*, as they had done his Predeceſſors. *Tryphon* was no leſs unfaithful to his Pupil *Antiochus*, than he had been to *Jonathan*. He caus'd that Child to be made away, by the means of the Phyſicians, under pretence of having him cut for the Stone, which he had nothing of; and ſo made himſelf Maſter of one part of the Kingdom. *Simon* join'd himſelf with *Demetrius Nicator*, the Legitimate King; and, after he had obtain'd of him the Freedom of his Country, he maintain'd and kept it by Arms againſt the
142. Rebel *Tryphon*. The *Syrians* were driven 612.
out of the Cittadel which they kept in *Jeruſalem*, and, a while after, out of all the Places of *Judea*. Then the *Jews*, being freed from the Yoke of the *Gentiles* by the Valour of *Simon*, yielded the Kingly Rights to him and to his Family; and *Demetrius Nicator* conſented to that new Eſtabliſhment. There began the new Kingdom of God's People, and the *Principality* of the *Aſmonians ever join'd* to the Sovereign *Prieſthood*. About this time the *Parthian* Empire extended itſelf over the *Bactrians* and *Indians*, by the victories of
141. *Mithridates*, the valianteſt of all the *Arſacidæ*. 613.
Whilſt he was advancing towards *Euphrates*, *Demetrius Nicator*, invited by the People of that Country, which *Mithridates* had newly brought into Subjection, was in hopes of reducing to Obedience the *Parthians*, whom the *Syrians* had always treated as Rebels. He was happy in ſeveral Victories; but, in his return into

Syria

Years before J. C. — Years of Rome.

Syria to give *Tryphon* Battle, he unluckily fell into a Snare, which one of *Mithridates* his Generals had laid for him; and ſo became a Priſoner to the *Parthians*. *Tryphon*, who then thought himſelf ſafe by the Calamity of that Prince, found, of a ſudden, that he was abandoned by his own Peo-

140. ple. They could no longer bear with 641.
his inſulting Pride. During the impriſonment of *Demetrius*, their legitimate King, they ſubmitted themſelves to his Wife *Cleopatra*, and to his Children: But however they were oblig'd to look out for one that might be, a Guardian and Defender to thoſe Princes, being yet but young and under Age. That Care did naturally belong to *Antiochus Sidetes*, the Brother of *Demetrius*: *Cleopatra*, made him to be own'd throughout all the Kingdom: ſhe alſo went further: *Phraates*, the Brother and Succeſſor of *Mithridates*, treated *Nicator* as a King, and gave him his Daughter *Rodoguna* in Marriage. *Cleopatra*, in hatred to this Rival, married *Antiochus Si-*

139. *detes*, and was reſolv'd to reign, tho' by 615.
all the Crimes imaginable. The new King ſet upon *Tryphon*: *Simon* join'd with him in that Aſſault, and the Tyrant, being in all places ſubdu'd, met with that

135. Fate, in his End, which he juſtly deſerv'd. 619.
Antiochus, now Maſter of the Kingdom, ſoon forgat the Service that *Simon* had done him in that War, and caus'd him to be kill'd. Whilſt *Antiochus* was collecting, againſt the *Jews*, all the Forces of *Syria*, *Johannes Hyrcanus*, the Son of *Simon*,

succeeded to the Pontificate of his Father: He sustain'd the Siege in *Jerusalem* with a great deal of Valour. Then the War, which *Antiochus* was designing against the *Parthians*, made him agree with the *Jews* upon very easy Terms. About the same time that this *Peace* was concluding, the *Romans*, grown mighty rich, met with Enemies, that were not a little to be fear'd, in the vast Multitude of their Slaves. *Eunus*, a Slave, got them to make their first Insurrection in *Sicily*; and, to reduce them, no less than the whole Power of *Rome* was employ'd. A while after, the Succession of *Attlus*, King of *Pergamus*, who by his last Will made the *Roman* People his Heir, put the City into an unhappy Division. The Troubles of the *Gracchi* began. The Seditious Tribuneship of *Tiberius Gracchus*, one of the primier Citizens of *Rome*, became his Destruction: The Senate kill'd him, by the hand of *Scipio Nasica*. *Scipio Æmilianus* re-establish'd the Military Discipline, and that great Man, who had destroy'd *Carthage*, ruin'd *Numantia* in *Spain*, the *second* Terror of the *Romans*. The *Parthians* found themselves weak against *Sidetes*: His Troops, tho' corrupted with Luxury, and riotous, yet had most surprizing Successes. *Johannes Hyrcanus*, who had attended him with his *Jews* in that War, made there his Valour signally famous, and the *Jewish* Religion to be had in regard. Then *Phraates* saw his Empire reduc'd to its antient Bounds: But yet he was so far from

Years before J. C.

Years of Rome.

135. 621.

132. 622.

Justin de Repose.

Years before J. C. Years of Rome.

from deſpairing at theſe diſaſtrous Circumſtances, that he verily believ'd his Priſoner would be a means to ſet them right again, and enable him to invade *Syria*. *Demetrius* had been ſeveral times releaſed, and as often retain'd, according to the Aſcendant of his Father-in-Law's Hopes and Fears. At laſt a happy Moment, wherein *Phraates* found no other Reſource than in the Diverſion which he reſolv'd to make in *Syria* by his means, ſet him at abſolute Liberty. At this Criſis
130. there was a new turn of Affairs: *Sidetes*, 624.
who could no longer keep up his vaſt Expences, but by Rapines as unſupportable, was on a ſudden overwhelm'd by a general Riſing of his People, and fell with that Army which he had found ſo oft victorious. In vain now did *Phraates* ſeek to overtake *Demetrius*, that time was paſt, and the Prince was got into his Kingdom. His Wife *Cleopatra*, who was reſolv'd to reign, did ſoon return to him, and *Rodoguna* was as ſoon forgot. *Hyrcanus* made uſe of his time: He took *Sichem* from the *Samaritans*, and utterly deſtroy'd the Temple of *Gerazim*, two hundred Years after it had been built by *Sanballat*. Its Ruin hindred not the *Samaritans* from continuing their Worſhip upon that Mountain, and the two People remain'd irreconcile-
129. able. The Year after, all *Idumea*, united by the Victories of *Hyrcanus* to the Kingdom of *Judea*, receiv'd *Moſes*'s Law with Circumciſion. The *Romans* continu'd their Protection to *Hyrcanus*, and caus'd a
625.

Years before J. C.		*Years of Rome.*
	Surrender of the Towns to him, which the *Syrians* had diſpoſſeſs'd him of. The Pride	
128.	and the Violences of *Demetrius Nicator* left not *Syria* long in Ropoſe. The People revolted; and to keep up their Revolt, the Enemy, *Egypt*, gave them a King. It was	626.
125.	*Alexander Zebina*, the Son of *Balaſſus*. *Demetrius* was beaten, and *Cleopatra*, who thought to reign more abſolutely under	629.
124.	her *Children*, than under her *Husband*, caus'd *him* to be taken out of the way: And for the ſame Reaſons ſhe gave no better	630.
121.	Treatment to her eldeſt Son *Seleucus*. Her ſecond Son *Antiochus*, call'd *Grypus*, had defeated the Rebels, and was return'd victorious: *Cleopatra* in the Complement of a tender concern for his Health, when hot, preſented to him a poiſon'd Cup which he, being advertis'd of it, made her to drink. At her Death ſhe left an eternal Seed of Diviſions among her Children, which ſhe had had by the two Brothers *Demetrius Nicator*, and *Antiochus Sidetes*. *Syria*, thus in Convulſions, was not long in a	633.
109.	Condition to trouble the *Jews*. *Johannes Hyrcanus* took *Samaria*, tho' he could not convert the *Samaritans*. Five Years after, he died: *Judea* continu'd quiet under his	645.
104.	two Children *Ariſtobulus* and *Alexander*	650.
103.	*Jannæus*; who both reign'd, one after the other, without any Diſturbance from the Kings of *Syria*. The *Romans* left that rich Kingdom to waſte and conſume	651.
125.	by itſelf, and were content with inlarging themſelves to the *Weſt*. During the Wars of *Demetrius Nicator*, and of *Zebina*,	629

Years before J. C. / Years of Rome.

bina, they began to extend themſelves beyond the *Alpes*; and *Sextius*, having conquer'd the *Gauls*, call'd *Salii*, eſtabliſh'd in the Town of *Aix* a Colony, which bears his Name to this day, *Aquæ Sextiæ*. The *Gauls* defended themſelves but ill. *Fabius* ſubdu'd the *Allobroges*, and all the Neighbouring People: And the ſame Year that *Grypus* made his Mother to drink the Poiſon which ſhe had prepared for him *Gallia Norbonenſis* was reduc'd to a Province, and receiv'd the Name of the *Roman Province*.

124. 630.
123. 631.
121. 633.

Thus the *Roman* Empire was greaten'd and by little and little poſſeſs'd itſelf of the known World; yet the Face of the Common wealth did not look ſo fair and beautiful abroad by her Conqueſts, but that it was as much disfigur'd by the outragious Ambition of her Citizens, and by her civil and inteſtine Wars. The moſt illuſtrious of the *Romans* became the moſt pernicious to the Publick Weal. The two *Gracchi*, by their Flatteries to the People, began the Diviſions, which never ended but with the Republick. *Caius*, the Brother of *Tiberius*, animated with Revenge, as well as his Brother's Sentiments, having put all the Citizens into Arms one againſt another, met with the ſame juſt Fate and Death, as his Brother had, from the *Senate*, and *Opimius*, then Conſul. Money does all things at *Rome*; aſſur'd of which *Jugurtha*, the Nephew of *Micipſa*, King of *Numidia* an Ally of *Rome*, and made, by adoption, Son and Coheir with *Micipſa's* own Sons, ſtuck not

119. 635.
114. 640.
113. 641.
106. 648.

Years before J. C. — *Years of* Rome.

to ſtain himſelf with the barbarous Murther of thoſe two Brothers, and then defended himſelf longer by his Bribes than by his Arms. The Illuſtrious *Metellus* broke him; but the ambitious *Marius* by inſinuations and then roughly ſtirring up the People againſt the *Nobility* (or *Patricians*), gets the *Command* from *Metellus*, ſo reaps the Glory of abſolutely conquering him. The Slaves once more arm'd themſelves in *Sicily*, and their ſecond Revolt coſt the *Romans* as much Blood as the firſt. *Marius* beats the *Teutons*, the *Cymbrians*, and the other People of the *North*, who had got themſelves into *Gallia*, *Spain*, and *Italy*. The Victories he obtained were an Occaſion of propoſing new Partages and Diviſions of Land: *Metellus* ſtrenuouſly oppos'd it with the *Patricians*, who, by the falſe Aſſurances and Hypocriſy of *Marius*, are trick'd into a Law, whoſe Sanction was by an oath under penalty of immediate Baniſhment; *Metellus* alone refuſes, as *Marius* had aim'd it, and is baniſh'd. Yet theſe Diviſions ended not without the Blood of *Saturninus*, tho' a Tribune of the People and Creature of *Marius*. Whilſt *Rome* protected *Cappadocia* againſt *Mithridates*, King of *Pontus*, and *he* ſo great an Enemy, had fiez'd *Aſia* with a general Maſſacre of the *Romans* there, and had brought *Greece* too into his Intereſt, and this at a Time when *Italy* had long been engag'd in Arms, by ſo many Wars kept up either againſt the *Romans*, or with them, her Empire was in great Danger of an univerſal Revolt. *Rome*

163. 651.
102. 652.
100. 654.
94. 660.
88. 666.
86. 668.
91. 663.
88. 666.
87. 667.
82. & *ſeq.*
79. 672. 675.

at

Years before J. C. | Years of Rome.

at the same Time felt herself torn by the Fury of *Marius* and *Sylla*; one of whom had made both the *South* and *North* to tremble, and the other was the Conqueror both of *Greece* and *Asia*. *Sylla*, sirnamed the Happy, was too much so against his Country, which his tyrannical Dictatorship brought into Slavery. He could easily resign the sovereign Power; but he could not prevent the Effect and Consequence of a bad Example. Every one would rule and govern. *Sertorius*, a zealous Associate of *Marius*, canton'd himself in *Spain*, whither *Mithridates* sent Ambassadors, sued for, and made, a League with him. Against so great a Captain Force was in vain; and *Pompey*, tho' join'd too by, a great Captain, *Metellus*, found himself two weak, till he had sow'd Divisions in the Enemy's Army; then, by the Treachery of *Perpenna*, *Sertorious* was basely assassinated in his own Tent. Nay, there was not a Man, even down to *Spartacus* the Gladiator, but who thought he might aspire to the Command of the *whole*. This Slave was as great a Trouble to the *Pretors*, and the *Consuls*, as *Mithridates* was to *Lucullus*. The War of the *Gladiators* became a dread to the *Roman* Power: *Crassus* at last, by a hard fought Battle and the Death there of *Spartacus*, did end it; yet *Pompey* having then, in his return from *Spain*, met with and fallen upon the Runaways, assum'd all the Glory of having cut up the Roots of that War. *Lucullus* got the better in the *East*. The *Romans* pass'd the *Euphrates* But their General, invincible against the Enemy, could not keep his own Soldiers within their Duty. *Mithridates*, who, tho' often beaten, yet never lost his Courage, rallied;

74. 680.
73. 681.
71. 683.
68. 686.
67. 687.
65.
63. See his Letter to the Senate. 689. 691.

Years before J. C. rallied; and the Happineſs of *Pompey* ſeem'd neceſſary to determine that War. He had newly purg'd the Sea of the Pyrates, that infeſted them from *Syria* even to *Hercules*'s Pillars, when he was ſent againſt *Mithridates*. His Glory ſeem'd then to be rais'd to the height. He brought that valiant King into an abſolute Submiſſion, and with him *Armenia*, whither he had fled for Refuge; alſo *Iberia* and *Albania*; *Syria* too, long torn by Factions, with *Judea*, (where the Diviſions of the *Aſmonæans* had left to *Hyrcanus* II. but a Shadow of Power) and at laſt all the *Eaſt*: but he had not had wherewithal to triumph over ſo many Enemies, without the Conſul

58. & ſeq. *Cicero* had ſav'd the City from the Fire, which *Catiline*, follow'd by many of the greateſt *Roman* Nobility, had prepar'd for it. That terrible Party was ruin'd by the Eloquence and Vigilance of *Cicero*, much more than by the Arms of *C. Antonius* his Collegue. The Liberty of the People of *Rome* was yet in no great Security, *Pompey* reign'd in the Senate, and his great Name made him abſolute Maſter of all Deliberations. *Julius Cæſar*,

54. ſubdu'd the *Gauls*, and ſo great a Service put

53. him into a Condition of eſtabliſhing himſelf. He was reſolv'd to equal, if not to out-do, *Pompey*. The immenſe Riches of *Craſſus* made him believe that he might ſhare the Glory of thoſe *two* great Men, as he ſhar'd their Authority. Hence the firſt *Triumvirate*. *He* raſhly engag'd in the War againſt the *Parthians*, which was fatal to himſelf, and to his Country. The *Arſacidæ*, proving Conquerors, inſulted with cruel Railleries over the Ambition of the *Romans*, and the inſatiable Avarice of the ir

Years of Rome. 696. 700. 701.

Years before J. C. Years of Rome.

their General. But this Diſgrace to the *Roman* Name was not the worſt Effect of the Defeat of *Craſſus*. His Power counterballanc'd that of *Pompey* and *Cæſar*, whom he kept united, notwithſtanding all their Averſion. By his Death, the League, which held them, was broken. The two Rivals, who had in their Hands all the Forces of the *Common-Wealth*, decided their Quarrel at *Pharſalia* by a bloody Battle. *Cæſar*, then Conqueror, appear'd preſently over all the *World* in a manner, in *Aſia*, in *Egypt*, in *Mauritania*, in *Spain*, Victor on all ſides; he was acknowledg'd as Maſter at *Rome*, and in all the Empire. *Brutus* and *Caſſius* thought to free their Citizens, by ſlaying him as a Tyrant, notwithſtanding his Moderation and Clemency. *Rome* fell thereby into the Hands of *Mark Antony*, *Lepidus* and young *Cæſar Octavianus*, Grand-Nephew to *Julius Cæſar*, and his Son by Adoption. Theſe made the *Second Triumvirate*; and were ſuch Tyrants, that their Proſcriptions do to this day cauſe a Horror to read them. But they were too violent to be of long continuance. Thoſe three Men divided the Empire. *Cæſar*, guarded *Italy*, and of a ſudden changing his former Cruelties into Mildneſs and Gentleneſs, he made them believe he had been induc'd to thoſe *Acts* by his Collegues. The Remains of the *Common-Wealth* periſh'd with *Brutus* and *Caſſius* at the Battle of *Philippi*. *Antony* and *Cæſar*, after they had ruin'd *Lepidus*, turn'd themſelves one againſt another. All the Power of *Rome* was put to Sea. *Cæſar* gain'd the Battle at *Actium*: The *Egyptian* and *Eaſtern* Forces, which *Antony* brought along with him, were diſſipated and

49. 705.
48. 706.
47. 707.
46. 708.
45. 709.
44. 710.
43. 711.
42. 713.
36. 718.
32. 722.
31. 723.
30. 724.

Years before J. C. and ſcatter'd: He, abandon'd by all his Friends, and at laſt by *Cleopatra*, for whoſe Sake he loſt all, kill'd himſelf. *Herod*, the *Idumean*, who ow'd *Antony* all things, was forc'd to come in to the Conqueror, and by that means kept himſelf in the Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom of *Judea*, which the weakneſs of old *Hyrcanus* had caus'd to be obſolutely loſt to the *Aſmonæans*. All things gave way to *Cæſars* Fortune: *Alexandria* open'd her Gates to him: *Egypt* became a *Roman* Province: *Cleopatra*, deſpairing, was her own Self-Murtherer after *Anthony*: *Rome* ſtretches out her Arms to *Cæſar*, who remain'd, under the Name of *Auguſtus*, and, under the Title of *Imperator*, ſole Maſter of the whole Empire: He ſubdu'd, near the *Pyrenees*, the revolted *Cantabrians* and *Aſturians*: *Æthiopia* deſir'd Peace of him; the frighted *Parthians* ſent him back the Standards taken from *Craſſus*, with all the *Roman* Priſoners: The *Indians* ſought his Alliance: His Arms extended then to the *Rhetians*, or *Griſons*, whom their Mountains could not defend: *Pannonia* pay'd their Acknowledgements to him: *Germany* dreaded him, and the †*Weſer* receiv'd his Laws. Victorious thus, both by Sea and Land, he ſhuts up the Temple of *Janus*. All the World liv'd in Peace under his Power, and then came JESUS CHRIST into the World.

Years of Rome.

24.	730.
22.	732.
20.	734.
15.	739.
12.	742.
7.	747.
1.	753.
	754.

† *Viſurgis*, a River of *Germany*; well known then for the Battles and great Slaughter that had been made there of the *Romans*.

The End of the Firſt PART.

AN

INTRODUCTION

TO, Or a SHORT

DISCOURSE

CONCERNING,

UNIVERSAL HISTORY,

Or that of the

Antient Empires.

Faithfully compared with, and Done

(With ſome Alterations)

From the Original of that Illuſtrious AUTHOR,

JAMES BENIGNE BOSSUET,

Biſhop of *MEAUX* and *CONDOM*,

And *Præceptor* to his Royal Highneſs the DAUPHIN.

PART II. By *R. S.*

Printed in the YEAR, M,DCC,XLII.

INTRODUCTION.

HERE I beg leave to obſerve to the *Reader*, that tho' our *Author* carried his *firſt* Part down to *Epocha* XII. or that of *Charlemain*, in the Seventh, or laſt, *Age* of the World, I would not in that *firſt* part venture any farther than that of *Jeſus Chriſt*, for two Reaſons; the one is becauſe, as I hinted before, I had gone far enough for the better explaining the *Holy Scriptures*, and the *purer* Claſſicks: and then ſeeing the *Biſhop* has, in his Courſe of Hiſtory down to *that Epocha*, interwoven with the *prophane* Hiſtory, not only the Progreſs and Obſtacles, the Dangers, Hardſhips and Perſecutions, of the *Chriſtian* Religion and its firſt Profeſſors, but the Authority alſo and Faith, the Doctrine and Inf——of the Church of *Rome*, I choſe rather to ſtop here, than to advance on to a Neceſſity of diſſenting from our Author; and eſpecially in a Point where ſome wou'd think that ſuch difference of Sentiments might be, in either of us, a Warp only from the Prejudice of Education.

Another

Another thing to be obſerv'd and remembred, is, that, what our *Author* makes the *Third* Part, I have made the *Second*. He wrote, 'tis plain, from the cloſe of this *ſecond* Part, for the uſe of an adult Perſon; for one, whoſe good parts and judgment had been much improv'd by Years and the beſt Education, and thereby duly fitted to read with eaſe, and to digeſt ſo great and uſeful a Piece as is *that* part which treats of the *Courſe, or Succeſſion, of Religion from the Creation.* —— But I only publiſh for thoſe of tenderer Years, and conſequently, ſhort of that Knowledge, and too much below, or deſtitute of, ſuch Aſſiſtances.

What he, with good Reaſon, made, to one of thoſe Years and Education, the *ſecond* Part, may, perhaps, be publiſh'd; but then, for the Reaſons before given, as the *third*.

Happy was the Pupil! and happy was he, who dar'd thus (like the *Prophets* of old) in a manner ſo becoming his own Dignity and Profeſſion, the ſacred Ties and Engagements from Religion, as well as in a way ſo ſuitable to his Pupil's high Birth, Age, and Knowledge, to be continually imprinting in his Mind the certain Dependance on, and from thence the neceſſary Humility, Submiſſion and Reverence always due (and from none more than from the greateſt Princes) to the *Almighty*. This he bravely, and with all

all the Gravity and Authority of a noble and truly great, as well as religious, Spirit, enforces on him, in this the Introduction to, or beginning, and again in the Concluſion of, this Part, telling him the Advantage it muſt be to ſuch great Princes, as his *Highneſs*, to obſerve well, firſt, That *Empires* have, for the moſt part, a neceſſary Connexion to the Hiſtory of the People of *God*; that the Revolutions and Succeſſions of *Empires* are regulated by *Providence*, and ſerve to humble Princes. And then, ſecondly, that theſe Revolutions of *Empires* have particular *Cauſes*, which Princes ought to ſtudy.

Firſt, Empires, ſays he, have, for the moſt part, a neceſſary Connexion to the Hiſtory of the People of *God*. Thus *God* was ſerved by the *Aſſyrians* and the *Babylonians*, to chaſtiſe *that* People; by the *Perſians*, to re-eſtabliſh them; by *Alexander* and his firſt Succeſſors, to protect them; by *Antiochus*, the Illuſtrious, or *Epiphanes*, and his Succeſſors, to exerciſe them; by the *Romans*, to maintain their Liberty againſt the Kings of *Syria*, who were intent to deſtroy them. The *Jews* continued under the Power of thoſe very *Romans* unto *Jeſus Chriſt*; whom when they had moſt wickedly crucified, thoſe ſame *Romans* became ſoon the inſtruments, without ever thinking that they were ſo, of the divine Vengeance, and rooted out that ungrateful People. *God*, who had reſolved at the ſame time to gather to himſelf a new People, out of all Nations, did firſt re-unite both the Land and Sea under *that* Empire.

1. *That the Revolutions of Empires are regulated by Providence, and ſerve to humble Princes.*

Empire. The Commerce of ſo many different People, otherwiſe Strangers one to the other, thus re-united under the *Roman* Dominion, was one of the moſt powerful and effectual Means that Providence made uſe of for the ſpreading of the *Goſpel*. If the ſame *Roman* Empire perſecuted, for two hundred Years, this new People, which was ſeen to riſe up on all ſides within its Walls, that Perſecution hath confirmed the *Chriſtian* Church, and hath made its Glory the more bright and conſpicuous by its *Faith* and *Patience*. At laſt the *Roman* Empire yielded; and, having found ſomething more invincible than itſelf, it quietly received into its Boſom *that* Church, againſt which it had made ſo long, and ſo cruel, a War of Reſiſtance.

When the time was come that the *Roman* Power was to fall, and that *that great* Empire, which had vainly promiſed an *Eternity* to itſelf, was to undergo the Fate of all others, *Rome* became the Prey of the *Barbarians*; yet, by its *Religion*, kept up its antient Majeſty. The Nations, that invaded the *Roman* Empire, by little and little learnt their *Chriſtian* Piety, which tempered their own Barbariſm; and their Kings, in placing themſelves, each in their Nation, in the room of Emperors, found not any of their Titles more glorious than that of being *Protectors* of the Church.

But here I muſt diſcover to you the ſecret Judgments of God upon the *Roman* Empire, and even upon *Rome* herſelf: A Myſtery which

which the Holy Ghoſt revealed to St. *John*, and which that great Man, Apoſtle, Evangeliſt, and Prophet, hath explained in the *Revelations*. *Rome*, that was grown old in the Worſhip of *Idols*, found it extreamly difficult to get rid of it, even under *Chriſtian* Emperors; and the Senate counted it an Honour to defend the Gods of *Romulus*; to whom they attributed all the Victories of the *old* Common-Wealth.

The Emperors were wearied out with the Deputations of *that* Body, which required the Re-eſtabliſhment of its *Idols*, and which thought that to correct *Rome* of her *old* Superſtitions, was to do an Injury to the *Roman* Name. Thus that *Body*, which was made up of the chiefeſt Grandees the Empire had, and an immenſe number of People, in which were well near all the moſt conſiderable and diſtinguiſh'd Perſons of *Rome*, could not be drawn from their Errors, neither by the preaching of the *Goſpel*, nor by ſo plain and viſible an accompliſhment of the antient *Prophecies*, nor by the *Converſion* of almoſt all the reſt of the Empire; nor, to conclude by that of the *Princes*, whoſe decrees were ſo much in favour of *Chriſtianity*. On the contrary, they continued moſt opprobriouſly to charge, after the Example of their Fore-fathers, the Church of *Jeſus Chriſt*, with all the Miſchiefs and Calamities of the Empire: always ready to renew the antient Perſecutions, if they had not been ſuppreſſed by

Zozym. 4. Orat. Symm. ap. Amb. Tom. 5. l. 5. Ep. 30. Aug. de Civit. Dei. l. 1. &c.

the then Emperors. Things were in this Condition at the *fourth* Age of the *Church*, and a hundred Years after *Conſtantine*, when God, ſeeing the many bloody Decrees of the *Senate* againſt his faithful People, and hearing the furious Outcries of all the People of *Rome*, whoſe greedineſs after *Chriſtian* Blood had ſo often made the Amphitheatres to reſound, delivered to the *Barbarians* that City, *drunken with the Blood of Saints, and with the Blood of* Jeſus, as St. *John* ſpeaks. God renewed upon her the terrible Chaſtiſements he had exerciſed upon *Babylon*; ſo that *Rome* itſelf was called by that Name. That new *Babylon*, the follower of the old, as ſhe was fluſhed and ſwelled with her Victories, triumphing in her Delicacies and her Riches, polluted with her Idolatries, and a perſecutor of the People of God, fell alſo, as *ſhe* did, and her Fall was great, as St. *John* ſets forth her Ruin. The Glory of her Conqueſts, which ſhe attributed to *her* Gods, is taken away from her: She is made a Prey to the *Barbarians*, taken three or four times, pillag'd, ſack'd, deſtroy'd. The Sword of the *Barbarians* ſpares only the *Chriſtians*. Another *Rome*, entirely Chriſtian, ariſes out of the Aſhes of that former, and it was only after the Inundation of the *Barbarians* that the Victory of *Jeſus Chriſt* was perfectly obtained over the *Roman* Gods, which were then not only deſtroyed, but forgotten.

Apocalyps. xvii. 6.

Rev. xvii. 18.

Thus the Empires of the world have miniſtred to *Religion*, and the Preſervation of the

the People of *God*. Wherefore this ſame God who hath cauſed his *Prophets* to foretel the ſeveral Eſtates of his *People*, hath alſo cauſed them to foretel the Succeſſion of the *Empires*. You have ſeen the places where *Nebuchadnezzar* hath been pointed out, as he that was to come and puniſh the proud People, and particularly the *Jews* ſo ungrateful againſt their *God*. You have heard *Cyrus* named two hundred Years before he was born, as he that was to ſet up again the People of *God*, and to puniſh the Pride of *Babylon*. The Ruin of *Nineveh* was as clearly foretold. *Daniel*, in his admiral Viſions, hath cauſed to go before your Eyes, in a moment, the Empire of *Babylon*, that of the *Medes* and *Perſians*, that of *Alexander*, and the *Grecians*. The Blaſphemies and the Cruelties of *Antiochus*, the Illuſtrious, were there foretold, as well as the miraculous Victories of the People of *God* over ſo violent a *Perſecutor*. We ſee there thoſe famous Empires to fall one after another; and the *new* Empire, which *Jeſus Chriſt* was to ſet up, is there ſo expreſſly deſcribed by its proper Characters, that there is no way to miſtake it. 'Tis the Empire of the Saints of the *moſt High*; the Empire of the *Son of Man*; an Empire which was to ſubſiſt in the midſt of the Ruin of all the reſt, and to which alone *Eternity* is promiſed.

The Judgments of God upon the *greateſt* of all the Empires of this World, that is to ſay, upon the *Roman* Empire, have not been

kept hid from us. You have juſt now had it from the mouth of St. *John*. *Rome* her ſelf hath felt the Hand of God, and hath been, like others, an Example of his Juſtice. But its fate was happier yet than that of others; for, being purged by her Puniſhments from the remaining dregs of *Idolatry*, ſhe now indeed ſubſiſts, but only by that *Chriſtianity*, which ſhe diſpenſes to all the World.

Thus have all the great Empires, which we have ſeen upon the Earth, concurred by ſeveral ways and means to the good of *Religion*, and the *glory of God*, as God himſelf hath declared by his Prophets.

When you read ſo often in their Writings that Kings ſhall in great number enter into the Church, and be the *Protectors* and *Nurſing Fathers* of it, thoſe words preſently put you in mind of the Emperors, and other Chriſtian Princes: and as the Kings, your *Anceſtors*, have, more than any other, ſignaliz'd themſelves in protecting and enlarging the Church of God, I ſhall not be afraid to aſſure you, that *they* are thoſe, who, of all the Kings, are moſt clearly foretold in thoſe eminently remarkable Prophecies.

God therefore, who was reſolved to make uſe of divers Empires, either to chaſtiſe, or exerciſe, or to enlarge, or protect, his People, willing to make himſelf known for the Author of ſo admirable a Reſolution revealed the Secret of it to his *Prophets*, and hath

cauſed

cauſed them to foretel what he hath reſolved to execute. Wherefore, as the Empires began the order of *God's Decrees* on the People whom he had choſen, ſo the fortune of thoſe Empires we find declared by the ſame Oracles of the *Holy Ghoſt*, which foretold the Succeſſion of the *faithful* People.

The more you accuſtom your ſelf to follow great things, and to recal them to their Principles, the more will you ſtand in admiration of thoſe the great Ends and Counſels of *Providence*. It concerns you to take the Ideas of them betimes, which will clear up every day more and more in your Mind, and you will be the better able to refer human things to the order of that *eternal Wiſdom* on which they depend.

God doth not every day declare his Will by his Prophets concerning Kings and Monarchies, that he ſets up, or deſtroys: But, having done this often, to thoſe Empires whereof we have been ſpeaking, he ſhews us by thoſe ſignal Examples what he does in all others, and he teaches Kings theſe *two fundamental* Truths: *Firſt*, That it is he who forms Kingdoms to give them to whom he pleaſeth: And *Secondly*, That he knoweth how to make them ſerve, in the time and order which he hath decreed, to the Deſigns he hath on *his People*.

This, may it pleaſe your *Highneſs*, ought to keep all Princes in an intire Dependance,

and to make them always careful of the Orders of God, that ſo they may be inſtrumental in what he purpoſes for his own Glory, upon all Occaſions that he offers them.

But this Succeſſion of Empires, if we will conſider it more as *Men*, hath very great Advantages, eſpecially for *Princes*, ſeeing that *Arrogance*, the ordinary Companion of ſo exalted a Condition, is ſo very much quell'd by ſuch a ſpectacle. For if Men learn to moderate themſelves by ſeeing *Kings* die, how much more will they be ſtruck by ſeeing even *Kingdoms* to periſh; from whence can they receive a more plain Leſſon of the Vanity of human Greatneſs?

Thus, when you behold, as in an inſtant, before your Eyes, the Death and Downfal, I do not ſay, of Kings and Emperors, but of thoſe mighty Empires that have made the whole Univerſe to tremble; when you behold both the antient and the *Second* Empire of the *Aſſyrians*, the *Medes*, the *Perſians*, the *Grecians*, and the *Romans*, all before you ſucceſſively, and all to fall, as I may ſay, one upon another; this dreadful Deſtruction preſently makes you ſenſible that there is nothing ſolid among Men, and that Inconſtancy and Agitation is the proper Partage and Portion of human things.

But that which will render to your *Highneſs* this View of the Succeſſion and Revolutions of *Empires* both more advantagious and more agreeable, will be the Reflection you ſhall make not only on the *Riſe* and *Fall* of Empires, but alſo on the *Cauſes* of their Progreſs, and on thoſe of their Ruin. II. *The Revolutions of Empires have particular Cauſes which Princes ought to ſtudy.*

For, *Sir*, that ſame God, who hath made the Chain of the Univerſe, and who, as he is Almighty by himſelf, hath reſolv'd, for the eſtabliſhing of Order, that the Parts of ſo great an *All* ſhould depend one upon another; that ſame God hath alſo decreed that the courſe of human things ſhould have its Iſſues and its Proportions; I mean, that Men and Nations have had Qualities commenſurate to the Advancements to which they have been deſign'd; and that, excepting ſome certain extraordinary Strokes, wherein God hath been willing to manifeſt his *own* Hand in particular, there are no very great Changes happen, but what may deduce their Cauſes from precedent Ages.

And as, in all Affairs, there is that, which prepares them, that, which determines to undertake them; and, laſtly, that, which makes them have ſucceſs: So the true Science of Hiſtory is to obſerve, in every time, thoſe ſecret Diſpoſitions, which have prepar'd and made way for great Changes, and the important Conjunctures, which have brought them to paſs.

Indeed it is not ſufficient to look only juſt before one, that is to ſay, to conſider thoſe great Events, which all on a ſudden do decide the Fortune of Empires. He that would gain a deep and thorough Knowledge of human things, ought to take them at their firſt Head and Spring; and he muſt obſerve the Inclinations, and the Tempers; or, to ſpeak all in one word, the *Character*, as well of the People governing in general, as of the Princes in particular; or, if you pleaſe, of all the extraordinary Men, who by the Importance of the Part they have had in the World, have contributed, either well or ill, to the change of States, and to the publick Fortune.

I have endeavour'd to prepare you to theſe neceſſary Reflections in the *firſt* part of this Diſcourſe; you may be able now to obſerve the *Genius* of the People, and *that* of thoſe great Men that have led them. The Events, that have ſucceeded in the Sequel, have been ſhewn; and that I might keep your Mind intent upon the Chain of the great Affairs of the World, which principally I would have you to underſtand, I have purpoſely omitted ſeveral particular Facts, whoſe Conſequences have not been ſo conſiderable. But becauſe, by our fixing ſo much upon the End propos'd, and from thence ſlightly paſſing over ſeveral things, we cou'd not ſo well make the juſt Reflections on them they deſerve, you may be pleas'd now to ſet yourſelf about it with a more particular Attention, and to accuſtom your

your Mind to ſeek out the effects in their moſt diſtant and remote Cauſes.

Thereby, *Sir*, you will learn, what is ſo neceſſary to be known, that although, if we only have regard to particular accidents, Fortune ſeems alone to decide the eſtabliſhment and the ruin of Empires; yet, perfectly to underſtand the whole, it happens, juſt as it does at play, where the moſt agile and dextrous carries it againſt the ſtronger Hand.

In fine, in this tragical and bloody *Game*, where People are in diſpute about Empire and Power, he that hath forecaſted at the greateſt diſtance, that hath moſt apply'd himſelf, that hath continu'd longeſt in the moſt difficult Labours; and, in a word, he that hath the greateſt Skill, either in puſhing on, or improving, a begun Encounter, hath at laſt had the Advantage, and hath made even Fortune herſelf aſſiſting to his Deſigns.

Therefore it behoves you not to be weary of inquiring into the *cauſes* of great Changes, ſince that nothing can be more ſerviceble to inſtruct you than *ſuch* inquiries; but eſpecially ſeek till you find them in the Event of *great* Empires, where the Greatneſs of the Accidents makes them more plain and manifeſt.

OF THE ANTIENT EMPIRES.

PART. II.

III. *The* Scythians, *the* Ethiopians, *and* Egyptians.

I SHALL not here reckon among the great Empires that of *Bacchus*, nor that of *Hercules*, those famous Conquerors of the *Indies* and the *East*. Their Histories have nothing certain, their Conquests have nothing of Connection in them: we will leave them to be celebrated by the Poets, who have made them the greatest Subject of their Fables.

Herod. l. 1. *Strab. lib.* 15. *Justin. l.* 2.

And I shall say as little of the Empire which the *Madyes* of *Herodotus*, that very much resembles the *Indathyrses* of *Magasthenes*, and the *Tanais* of *Justin*, rais'd up for a little while in *Asia Major*. The *Scythians*, whom that Prince carried to the War, did rather make Incursions than Conquests. It was only in Rencounters, and by repelling, pushing, and pursuing the *Cimmerians*,

rians, that they entred in *Media*, beat the *Medes*, and took that part of *Asia* from them, where they had eſtabliſh'd their Dominion. Thoſe new Conquerors reigned there but eight and twenty Years; their Impiety, their Avarice, and Brutality made them quickly loſe it; and *Cyaxeres*, the Son of *Phraortes*, from whom they had conquer'd it, drove them out of it again. Being driven to a corner of his Kingdom, which the Conquerors had either neglected, or which perhaps they were not able to force, he waited with Patience till thoſe brutiſh Conquerors had ſtirr'd up the publick Hatred, and ſo ruin'd and deſtroy'd themſelves by the diſorders of their Government.

And we find yet in *Strabo*, who hath taken it from the ſame *Megaſthenes*, one *Tearcon*, King of *Ethiopia*: this ought to be *Tirhakah* mention'd in the Scripture, whoſe Arms were fear'd in the time of *Sennacherib*, King of *Aſſyria*. That Prince went even to the Colonies of *Hercules*, very probably all along the Coaſt of *Africk*, and came unto the Borders of *Europe*. But what ſhould I ſay of a Man, that I can find but very little mention of among the Hiſtorians, and whoſe Government had no continuance. *Lib.* 15. 2 Kings xix. 9. Iſ. xxxii, 2.

The *Ethiopians*, whereof he was King, were, if we will believe *Herodotus*, the handſomeſt and moſt delicate ſhapen Men in the World. Their Wit was quick and ſtrong, but they took no care to cultivate it, placing their Confidence in their robuſt Bodies, and nervous Arms. Their Kings were elective, and they gave the Throne *Herod. lib.* 3.

to

to the greateſt and the ſtrongeſt. We may judge of their Humour by an Action which *Herodotus* relates. When *Cambyſes* ſent to them Ambaſſadors and Preſents, ſuch as the *Perſians* gave, of Purple, Bracelets of Gold, and Compoſitions of Perfume, they laught at thoſe Preſents in which they could find nothing that was profitable to Life, as well as at their Ambaſſadors, whom they took for Spies, as they were. But their King was alſo reſolv'd to make a Preſent after his manner to the King of *Perſia:* and taking into his Hand a Bow, which a *Perſian* could ſcarce hold, ſo far was he from being able to draw it, he bent it in the Preſence of the Ambaſſadors, bidding them hearken to the Counſel which the King of *Ethiopia* gave to the King of *Perſia*. *When the* Perſians *are able, as eaſily as I am, to make uſe of a Bow of this Greatneſs and Strength, let them come and attack the* Ethiopians, *but let them bring with them more Forces than yet* Cambyſes *has. In the mean time let them thank the Gods, who have not put into the Hearts of the* Ethiopians, *the ambitious deſire of ſpreading themſelves out of their own Country.* When he had ended this Sentence, he looſen'd his Bow, and gave it to the Ambaſſadors. We cannot ſay what would have been the event of the War. *Cambyſes* being enrag'd at this Anſwer, ſet forth againſt *Ethiopia* like a Madman, without any Order, without Convoy, without Diſcipline; and ſaw his Army deſtroy'd for want of proviſions, in

the

the midſt of the Sands, before ever he came near the Enemy.

However, thoſe People of *Ethiopia* were not ſo juſt as they proudly pretended to be, nor ſo ſhut up within their own Country. Their Neighbours, the *Egyptians*, ſeveral times felt their Power. There is nothing of Continuedneſs in the Counſels of thoſe ſavage and ill-cultivated Nations: If Nature did at any time begin in them any good Sentiments, ſhe never finiſh'd them. So that we find but very little to be learnt or imitated from them. Therefore we will ſpeak no more of them, but now come to a more polite People.

The *Egyptians* are the firſt from whom we have learnt any Rules of Government. This being a grave and ſerious Nation, firſt underſtood the true end of Polity, which is to render Life commodious, and the People happy. The Temperature of the Country being always even and uniform, made their Judgments more ſolid and conſtant. As Virtue is the Foundation of all Society, ſo they carefully cultivated and improv'd it. Their chief Virtue was *Gratitude*. The Honour that was given to them for being the moſt generous and grateful, ſhews they were likewiſe the moſt ſociable. Kindneſſes are the Bond both of publick and private Concord. He that acknowledges Favours, loves to beſtow them; and in baniſhing Ingratitude, the pleaſure of doing Good remains ſo pure, that there is no way for one to be inſenſible of it. Their Laws were ſimple, full of Equity, and proper *Diod. lib.* 1. P. 2.

per to unite Citizens to one another. He, who, being able to reſcue a Man aſſaulted, did not do it, was puniſh'd with as ſevere
Ibid. a Death as the Aſſaſſin himſelf. If we could not help the unfortunate, at leaſt we ought to impeach the Author of the Violence, and there were Puniſhments eſtabliſh'd on purpoſe for thoſe that were failing in this Duty. Thus were the Citizens a Guard each to other, and all the Body of the State was join'd againſt the wicked Doer. It was not permitted for any one to be uſeleſs in the State; The Law aſſign'd to every one their Buſineſs, which
Ibid. was perpetuated from Father to Son. They were not to have two, nor could they change their Profeſſion; but then all Profeſſions were honour'd. But it was neceſſary there ſhould be ſome, both Employments and Perſons, more conſiderable than others, as it is but fit that Eyes ſhould be in the Body; their Luſtre will not make the Feet and lower Parts to be ever the more deſpis'd. So among the *Egyptians*, the Prieſts and the Soldiers had their particular Marks of Honour: but all the Traders, even to the leaſt, were had in eſteem: and it was believ'd a criminal Matter to deſpiſe and ſcorn the Citizens, whoſe Labours, whatſoever they were, contributed to the Weal publick. By this means all Arts came to their Perfection; the Honour, which cheriſh'd them, was in every thing concern'd: they made greater Improvements in what they had always ſeen done, and to what in particular they had

had been brought up from their very Infancy.

But there was one Occupation which all Men were to be concern'd in; and that was the Study of the Laws and Wiſdom. Ignorance of the Religion and Polity of one's Country is no where excuſable in any Government. Here every Profeſſion had its Canton, to which it was particularly aſſign'd.

There fell out no Inconvenience by it in a Country whoſe Extent was not very great, and in ſo curious and exact Order. Thoſe that had a mind to be idle, knew not where to hide themſelves.

Amidſt theſe many good Laws, that which was the beſt of them, was, that all People were brought up to obſerve them. A new Cuſtom was a Prodigy in *Egypt*: Every one did there always the ſame; and the punctual Care they had to obſerve ſmall things maintain'd the great. So that never was there any People that had longer preſerv'd their Cuſtoms and Laws. The Regularity and Awfulneſs of their Courts of *Juſtice* contributed to the upholding of that *Genius*. *Thirty one* Judges were choſen out of the principal Cities to make up that Commiſſion to judge the whole Kingdom. They were accuſtom'd to ſee in thoſe high Places only the moſt grave Men of their Country, and ſuch as were of the cleareſt Integrity. The Prince gave them certain Salaries, that ſo they, being freed from domeſtick Entanglements, might beſtow the whole of their time in making the Laws to be the better obſerv'd.

Herod. l. 2. *Diod. l.* 1. §. 2. *Plat. de Leg.* 2.

obſerv'd. They receiv'd no Advantage by Suits of Law, for as yet they had never thought of making a Trade of Juſtice. To avoid Surprizes, the Matters were debated in thoſe Aſſemblies by Arguments in writing. They were afraid there of falſe Eloquence, which might dazzle the Underſtanding, and ſtir up the Paſſions. Truth could not be told there in too plain a manner. The Preſident of the Senate wore a Collar of Gold and precious Stones, from whence hung a Figure without any Eyes, which they call'd *Truth*. When he took it, that was the Signal to begin the Court. He bow'd it to the Party that was to gain his Cauſe, and that was the Form of pronouncing the Sentence. One of the fineſt of the *Egyptian* Arts, to make their ancient Maxims be preſerv'd, was, to inveſt them with certain Ceremonies, that imprinted them in their Minds. Theſe Ceremonies were obſerv'd with due reflection; and the ſerious Humour of the *Egyptians* did not ſuffer that they ſhould be turn'd into ſimple *Formula*'s. But they had in *Egypt* one kind of Judgment which was very extraordinary, and which none eſcap'd; It was the Conſolation, at the time of Death, of leaving their Names in eſteem among all men; and of all human Goods this is the only one that Death cannot raviſh from us. Yet it was not ſuffer'd in *Egypt* to commend all the Dead indifferently; That was an Honour to be had by a *publick* Judgment. As ſoon as a Man

a Man was dead, they brought him unto Judgment: The publick Accuſer was heard; If he prov'd that the Conduct of the Deceas'd had been bad, then the Memory of him was condemn'd, and he was depriv'd of Sepulture. The People rever'd the power of their Laws, which reach'd them even after Death, and every one, being touch'd by the Example, was afraid to diſhonour his Memory and his Family. But if the Defunct was not convicted of any Crime, then he had an honourable Interment; they made his Panegyrick, but they meddled not at all with his *Birth*. All *Egypt* was *noble*, and beſide they receiv'd no further Commendations than what they had got by their own *Merit*.

Every one knows how curious the *Egyptians* were in preſerving dead Bodies. Their *Mummies* are to be ſeen at this day. Thus their Gratitude to their Kindred was immortal: Children by ſeeing the Bodies of their Anceſtors, call'd to mind their Virtues, which the Publick had paid ſuch Acknowledgments to, and they were incited to love thoſe Laws, which had ſo recommended them.

To prevent borrowing, which was the Parent of Idleneſs, Frauds and Branglings, the Decree of King *Aſychis* did not ſuffer any to borrow, but upon condition that he pledg'd the Body of his Father to *him* of whom he borrow'd. And it was both an Impiety and an Infamy together, not to

Herod. lib. 2. *Diod.* §. 1.

redeem, as ſoon as ever one could, ſo precious a Pledge; and he that dy'd before he had acquitted himſelf of that Duty, was deny'd Burial.

The Kingdom was *Hereditary*; but the Kings were oblig'd more than all others, to live according to the Laws. Not that any had yet enter'd into the leaſt Diſpute againſt them, as *Kings*; or that any one offer'd at a right to control or force them. On the contrary, their *Princes* were look'd upon as *Gods*. Ancient Cuſtom alone was their ſufficient Rule; and they reſolv'd to live no otherwiſe than their Anceſtors; hence they patiently ſuffer'd themſelves, not only to be regulated in the Quality and quantity of their *Table* (for that was indifferent and eaſy to them; in *Egypt*, where all People were ſober, and where the Air of the Country was a friend to Frugality) but they were content that their very *Hours* ſhould be ſet them. In waking at break of day, when their Minds were moſt refin'd, and their Thoughts moſt clear, they read their Inſtructions, or rather Letters and Advices, that they might have a more exact and true Idea of the Matters they were to decide. As ſoon as they were dreſs'd, they went to ſacrifice in the Temple. There, being incompaſs'd by all their Court, and the Victims at the Altar, they aſſiſted at a Prayer full of Inſtruction, where the Chief Prieſt pray'd to the Gods to confer on the Prince all Royal Virtues, ſo that he might be religious to the Gods, placid towards

Ibid.

Herod. 2. *Diod.* §. 2.

towards Men, moderate, juſt, magnanimous, ſincere, and far from falſhood, liberal, a Maſter of himſelf, puniſhing below, but rewarding above, Deſert. The Chief Prieſt afterwards ſpake of the Faults that Kings might commit, but he always ſuppos'd they fell into them by ſurprize, or ignorance, charging with Imprecations the Miniſters, that gave them evil Counſels and conceal'd the Truth from them. This was the manner of inſtructing Kings; They thought Reproaches did only ſower their Spirits, and that the moſt effectual way of inſpiring Virtue into them, was to point out to them their Duty in Praiſes conformable to the Laws, and gravely deliver'd before their Gods. After Prayer and Sacrifice, they read to the King in the *Sacred* Books, the Counſels and the Actions of great Men, that ſo he might govern his Kingdom by their Maxims, and maintain the Laws, which had made his Predeceſſors, as well as their Subjects, happy. *Ibid.*

That which ſhews that theſe Remonſtrances were made and hearken'd to ſeriouſly, was that they had their effect; eſpecially among the *Thebans*, that is to ſay in the chief *Dynaſty*, that where the Laws were in force, and which came at laſt to be the Miſtreſs of all the reſt, and where the *truly greateſt* Men were Kings. The two *Mercuries*, Authors of Sciences, and of all the Inſtitutions of the *Egyptians*, the one near the time of the Deluge, and the other, whom they call'd *Triſmegiſtus*, or *Termaximus*, a

Contemporary of *Moſes*, were both Kings of *Thebes*. All *Egypt* profitted by their Light, and *Thebes* owes to their Inſtructions their having had very few *bad* Princes. *Thoſe* were ſpared during their Lives; the publick Repoſe would have it ſo; but they were not exempt from the Judgment they were to undergo after Death. Some have been deny'd Burial, but there are few examples of them; but on the contrary, moſt of the Kings have been in ſo dear Eſteem with the People, that every one bewail'd their Death, as much as that of their Parents, or Children.

Herod. l. 2.

Diod. 1. §. 2.

Ibid.

This cuſtom of judging Kings after their Death ſeem'd ſo juſt to the People of *God*, that themſelves have practis'd it. We read in the *Scriptures* that wicked Kings have been depriv'd of the Burial of their Anceſtors, and we learn from *Joſephus*, that that Cuſtom laſted even to the time of the *Aſmonæans*. *This* gave Kings to underſtand, that if their *Majeſty* put them above Human Judgments in this Life, they were not above them when Death had laid them but Equal with other Men.

Ant. 13. 23.

The *Egyptians* had an inventive *Genius*, and they turn'd it to things that were profitable. Their *Mercuries* have fill'd *Egypt* with wonderful Inventions, and ſcarce have left it ignorant of any thing that might make Life eaſy and commodious. I cannot give to the *Egyptians* the Honour they have conferr'd on their *Oſiris*, for having invented Tillage, becauſe it was found

found at all times in the neighbouring Countries of the World, where Mankind was ſpread, and queſtionleſs it was known ever ſince the World began. The *Egyptians* themſelves likewiſe give ſo great an Antiquity to *Oſiris*, that it is plainly ſeen they have confounded his time with that of the beginning of the World, and they would fain attribute to him ſome things, whoſe Original was long before all times known in their Hiſtory. But if the *Egyptians* were not the firſt Inventors of Agriculture, nor of the other Arts which we ſee before the Deluge, they have yet brought them to ſuch Perfection, and have taken ſo great care to reſtore and eſtabliſh them among the People, where Barbariſm had made them be forgot, that their Honour comes very little ſhort of thoſe that were the firſt Inventors. *Diod. l. 1. §. 1. Plut. de Iſid. & Oſir.*

Indeed there are ſome things of great Uſefulneſs, the Invention whereof cannot be diſputed with them. For as their Country was level and open, and their Heaven always clear and uncloudy, they were the firſt that obſerv'd the Courſe of the Stars: and they were the firſt alſo that regulated the Year. Theſe Obſervations threw them naturally into *Arithmetick*; and if it be true what *Plato* ſays, That the Sun and the Moon taught Men the Knowledge of *Numbers*, that is to ſay, that they began the Accounts regulated by that of Days, Months, and Years, then the *Egyptians* were the firſt who hearken'd to thoſe marvellous Inſtructors. The Planets and other Stars were no leſs known to them, and they *Plat. Ep. Diod. 1. §. 2. Herod. l. 2. Plat. in Tim.*

found out that *great Year* which brings back all the Heaven to its first point. To know their own Lands, every year cover'd over by the overflowing of *Nile*, they were forc'd to betake themselves to *surveying*, which quickly taught them *Geometry*. They were great Observers of Nature, which in an Air so serene, and under a Sun so burning, was very strong in its Products amongst them. 'Twas that which made them find out, or perfect, *Physick*. Thus all Sciences were in great esteem with them. The first Inventors of useful things receiv'd, both whilst they liv'd, and after their Deaths, Rewards worthy of their Labour. 'Twas that consecrated the Books of their two *Mercuries*, and made them to be look'd on as divine Books. The first People that had Libraries, were those of *Egypt*. The Title that was given them made them very desirous to purchase them, and to search into the Secrets of them; they were call'd, *The Treasure of the Remedies of the Soul*. Thereby it was cur'd of the most dangerous Ignorance, that of its own Maladies, the Source of all other.

Diod. 1. §. 2.

Herod. 3. *init.*

Diod. l. 1. §. 2.

One thing, which made the greatest impression on the Minds of the *Egyptians*, was the esteem and love of their *Country*. It was, they said, the Mansion-House of the *Gods*, *they* had reign'd there for many Millions of Years. It was the Mother of both Men and Beasts, which the Land of *Egypt*, water'd with the River *Nilus*, had brought forth, whilst all Nature besides was barren. The Priests that compos'd the

Plat. in Tim. Dio. 1. §. 1.

the Hiſtory of *Egypt* out of that vaſt continuance of Ages, which they only fill'd with the *Fables* and *Genealogies* of their Gods, did it to imprint into the Minds of the People the Antiquity and Nobleneſs of their *Country*. Thus they choſe to find enough to loſe themſelves in an Abyſs of *Time* which ſeem'd to bring them near to an *Eternity*; but their *real* Hiſtory was circumſcrib'd within reaſonable Bounds.

Yet, their Love to their Country had more ſolid Foundations. *Egypt* was, in fine, the moſt beautiful Country in the World, the moſt plentiful by Nature, the beſt cultivated by Art, the richeſt, and moſt commodious, and the moſt adorn'd by the Care and Magnificence of her Kings.

There was nothing but what was very great in their Deſigns and in their Works. What they made of *Nilus* is incredible. It rain'd very ſeldom in *Egypt*; but that River, which water'd it all by its regular Overflowings, brought to it the Rains and the Snows of other Countries. For the better multiplying of ſo beneficial a River, *Egypt* was traverſed with an infinite number of Chanels of an incredible length and largeneſs. Thus the *Nile* carry'd Fruitfulneſs every where with its wholeſome Waters, united Towns to one another, and the great Sea to the Red Sea, kept up Commerce both within and out of the Kingdom, and fortify'd it againſt the Enemy: ſo that it was altogether both the Nouriſher and the Defender of *Egypt*. The Fields were for a while ſwallow'd up

Herod. 2. *Diod.* 1. §. 2.

with it; but the Towns that were ſet above by vaſt pains and labour, and rais'd as Iſlands in the midſt of the Waters, joyful at ſuch their advancements, they beheld all the Plain overflown; and at the ſame time made fruitful by the *Nile*. When it ſwell'd itſelf above Meaſure, there were great Lakes cut hollow by the Kings, that open'd their Boſoms to the pour'd out Waters. Theſe again had their Diſcharges prepar'd; great Sluices open'd, or ſhut them up, as there was occaſion; and the Waters, having thus their Retreat, tarry'd no longer on the lands than juſt what was neceſſary to marle, and make them fertile.

Herod. 10. *Diod. ibid.*

Such was the uſe of this great Lake, which was call'd the Lake of *Myris*, or of *Moeris*: It was the name of the King that had caus'd it to be made. One would be aſtoniſh'd to read, what has been affirm'd, that the Compaſs of it round was about a hundred and fourſcore Leagues. That too much of the good Land might not be loſt by the cutting it hollow, they extended it chiefly towards the Coaſt of *Libya*. The Fiſhery was worth to the King vaſt Sums of Money; and ſo when the Land did not produce any thing, it yielded Treaſures by being covered with the Waters. Two Pyramids, each of which bore upon a Throne two *Coloſſus*-like Statues, the one of *Myris*, the other of his *Wife*, were raiſed three hundred Foot high in the midſt of the Lake, of an equal Depth under, as above, the Water: So that they ſhew'd that they were

were built before the Hollow was fill'd, and that a Lake of that vaſt Extent was made by Man's Hand under one ſingle Prince.

Thoſe who do not know to what degree the Earth may be improv'd, take for a Romance what is related of the number of the Towns in *Egypt*. The Richneſs of them is no leſs incredible. There was not one of them that had not magnificent Temples, and moſt ſtately and auguſt Palaces. Architecture diſcover'd there, in all things, ſuch a noble Simplicity and Greatneſs, that it took up the whole Imagination. The long Galleries expos'd to every ones View ſuch Sculptures in them as *Greece* took for *Models*. *Thebes* was able to diſpute it with the fineſt Cities of the Univerſe. Her hundred Gates, which *Homer* ſung of, are known to all the World. She was as full of People, as ſhe was vaſt, and it was ſaid ſhe could at one time draw out ten thouſand able Soldiers thro' each of her Gates. *Herod.* 2. *Diod.* 1, 2. *Diod. ibid.* *Pomp. Mel.* 1. 9.

Let there be, if you pleaſe, a little ſtretch in that Number, yet it is moſt certain that her People were not eaſily number'd. The *Greeks*, and the *Romans*, have celebrated her Magnificence and Grandeur, though they had only ſeen the Ruins of her; ſo extremely ſplendid were thoſe Remains. *Strab.* 17. *Tac. Ann.* 2. 6.

If our Travellers had got ſo far as where the City was built, they would, no doubt, have *yet* found ſomething incomparable in her Ruins: For the Works of the *Egyptians* were made to hold out againſt the deſtruction

ſtruction of time. Their Statues were *Coloſſes*; their Pillars vaſt; *Egypt* aimed at Grandeur, and to ſtrike the Eyes at a diſtance, but always to content by the Juſtneſs of the Proportions. There were diſcover'd in *Said* (you know very well that that is the Name of *Thebais*) Temples and Palaces almoſt yet entire, where thoſe Pillars and Statues are innumerable. One Palace is admir'd there above all, the Remains of which ſeem only to continue to efface the Glory of all others even the greateſt Works. Four Galleries, whoſe Proſpect loſt our Sight, bounded on each ſide by Spinxes of as curious a Subſtance, as their Greatneſs is remarkable, ſerve as Avenues from four *Portico*'s of ſuch a height as were an Aſtoniſhment to the Eyes. What Magnificence and Extent was there! As yet, thoſe that have deſcrib'd to us this prodigious Building, have not had time of going round it; nay, and are not very ſure they have ſeen above half of it; but however, all they have ſeen was very ſurprizing. A Hall, which ſeems to be plac'd in the middle of that ſtately Palace, was ſupported by ſix ſcore Pillars of thirty ſix Foot in Compaſs, proportionably high, and intermixt with Obeliſques, which ſo many Ages have never been able yet to demoliſh. Even the Colours are ſtill preſerv'd among the Ruins of that admirable Edifice; ay, and preſerv'd in their Strength and Vivacity: So skill'd was *Egypt* in imprinting the Characters of Immortality on all her Works. Now that

Herod. & Diod. loc. citat.

Voyag. pr. by M. Thevenot.

that the Name of *the King* is gone thro' all the known Parts of the World, and that *our Prince* extends likewiſe his Reſearches as far into the moſt beautiful Works of Nature and of Art, would it not be an Object worthy of ſo noble a Curioſity, to diſcover the Beauties which *Thebais* locks up in her Deſarts, and to inrich our Architecture with the Inventions of *Egypt*? What Power and what Art was it, that could make ſuch a Country to be the Wonder of the Univerſe? And what Beauties might there not be found if we come yet unto this Royal City, ſince that, at ſo great a Diſtance from it, ſuch Marvels are diſcover'd?

But it is *Egypt*'s Glory alone to erect Monuments for Poſterity. Her *Obeliſques*, even at this Day, as well by their Beauty, as their Height, do make up the chief Ornaments of *Rome*; and the *Romans*, deſpairing of ever equalling the *Egyptians*, thought it would very well contribute to their Greatneſs, the borrowing the Monuments of their Kings.

Egypt had not yet ſeen any great Buildings beſides the Tower of *Babel*, when ſhe invented her Pyramids, which as well by their Figure, as by their Grandeur, triumph'd over Time and *Barbarians*. The good *Taſte* and Judgment of the *Egyptians* made them then to be in love only with things truly ſolid and regular. Nor is it the Point, Whether Nature of herſelf brought it to that ſimple Air, to which it is ſo hard to return, when the

the Judgment is vitiated by Novelties and extravagant Attempts: however it be, the *Egyptians* have lov'd only regular Attempts: they only aim'd to be new and ſurpriſing in the infinite variety of Nature; and boaſted that *they* only, like the *Gods*, had made Immortal Works. The Inſcriptions of the Pyramids were no leſs noble, than the Work itſelf; They ſpake to the Beholders. One of thoſe Pyramids by its Title admoniſh'd all Lookers on, how they did compare her with the reſt, ſaying *that ſhe was as much above all the other Pyramids, as* Jupiter *was above all the others Gods.*

Whatever have been the efforts of Men, the inſufficiency and vanity of the ſame has been apparent in all things, and here particularly, thoſe Pyramids were only Tombs; and yet Kings, who built them, have not been able to get an Interment in them.

Herod. ib. *Diod.* 1. *Sect.* 2. I ſhould not ſpeak of that beautiful Palace, call'd the *Labyrinth*, if *Herodotus*, who ſaw it, did not aſſure us that it was more ſurprizing than the Pyramids. It was built on the ſide of the Lake of *Myris*, and a proſpect was given to it proportionably to the Grandeur of it. Otherwiſe it was not ſo much one ſingle Palace, as a magnificent Pile of twelve Palaces regularly diſpos'd, and which had, as it were, one Communication. Fifteen hundred Chambers join'd to Terras Walks were all ranged round a dozen Halls, and all thoſe that came to viſit them, were at a loſs how to find their way out again. The Building was as large

Herod. ib. *Diod.* 1. *Sect.* 2.

under

under ground. Thoſe lower Fabricks were deſign'd for the *Sepulchres* of Kings, and (who can mention it without Grief and Shame, and deep deploring the Blindneſs of Mankind?) yet withal to nouriſh conſecrated Crocodils, which were among the Gods of a Nation in all things elſe ſo great and wiſe.

You would be aſtoniſh'd to ſee ſo much Magnificence in the *Sepulchres* of *Egypt*. For, beſides that they erected them as ſacred Monuments to bear to future Ages the Memory of thoſe great Princes, they look'd upon them as *eternal Habitations*. The Houſes were call'd *Inns*, where we were only to be *en paſſant*, and for a Life too ſhort to finiſh our deſigns in, but the *true* Houſes were the *Tombs*, which we were to dwell in to infinite Ages. *Diod. ib.*

But *Egypt* laid not out its utmoſt efforts on inanimate things. Her more noble Works and her moſt delicate Art lay in forming the Manners of Men. *Greece* was ſo convinc'd of it, that her greateſt Men, ſuch as *Homer*, *Pythagorus*, *Plato*, *Lycurgus* alſo, and *Solon*, thoſe two great Legiſlators, and others, needleſs here to mention, went to learn Wiſdom in *Egypt*; God would even that *Moſes ſhould be learn'd in all the Wiſdom of the* Egyptians: and by that came he to be *Mighty in Words and in Deeds*. True Wiſdom makes uſe of every thing, and God will not have thoſe, whom he inſpires, to neglect humane means, which do alſo, in their way, come from him. Act. vii. 20, 21, 22.

Thoſe

Thoſe Sages of *Egypt* had ſtudy'd Rule and Government, which made their Minds ſolid, their Bodies robuſt, their Wives fruitful, and their Children ſtrong and vigorous. By which means the People increas'd in number and in Force. The Country was naturally healthful, but Philoſophy had taught them that Nature requir'd Aſſiſtance. There is an Art in forming Bodies, as well as Minds. This Art, which by Negligence we have loſt, was very well known to the Antients, and *Egypt* had found it. It principally made uſe of great Frugality and Exerciſe for this good Deſign. In a great Field of War which *Herodotus* ſaw, the Sculls of the *Perſians* eaſy to be pierc'd, and thoſe of the *Egyptians* more hard than the Stones with which they were mingled, plainly ſhew'd the Softneſs of the one, and the robuſt Conſtitution, which a frugal Dyet, and vigorous Exerciſes, gave to the other. Courſes on Foot, Races on Horſeback, and in Chariots, were much practis'd in *Egypt*, and with an admirable Addreſs; there were not in all the World better Horſemen than the *Egyptians*. When *Diodorus* tells us, they deſpis'd the *Lute*, as an Exerciſe which had a dangerous Strength, and was but of a ſhort Continuance, he would be underſtood by the *Lute* of the Strains and Violence of enraged Wreſtlers, which *Greece* herſelf, tho' ſhe crown'd it in her *Games*, had condemn'd, as but very little agreeable to free Perſons; but with a certain moderation, it was very well becoming

Diod. 1. §. 1.

Herod. 3.

Diod. 1. §. 2.

ing

ing Gentlemen; and *Diodorus* himſelf informs us, that the *Mercury* of the *Egyptians* had invented the Rules of it, as well as the Art of forming Bodies. The ſame muſt be underſtood alſo in what that Author ſays concerning *Muſick*. That which he makes the *Egyptians* to deſpiſe, as being apt to ſoften and debaſe the Courage, was, doubtleſs, that ſoft and effeminate Muſick, which only provok'd them to Pleaſures, and to a falſe and womanniſh Tenderneſs. For, as for that generous Muſick, whoſe noble Concords raiſe the Mind and Heart, the *Egyptians* never ſlighted that, ſeeing, as *Diodorus* himſelf tells us, their *Mercury* had invented it, and had alſo invented the graveſt Sorts of muſical Inſtruments. In the ſolemn Proceſſion of the *Egyptians*, where the Books of *Triſmegiſtus* were carry'd in Pomp, there was ſeen the Chanter at the Head, holding in his Hand *a Symbol of Muſick* (I know not what it was) *and the Book of the ſacred Hymns*. In ſhort, *Egypt* forgot nothing that might poliſh the Mind, ennoble the Heart, and fortify the Body. Four Hundred thouſand Soldiers, which ſhe maintain'd, were thoſe of her Citizens, which ſhe exercis'd with the exacteſt Care. The Laws of the Militia were eaſily kept, and as it were of themſelves, becauſe the Parents inſtructed their Children in them: for the Profeſſion of War went from Father to Son, as other Profeſſions did; and, next to the Prieſtly Families, thoſe that were accounted the moſt illuſtrious, were, as among us, the

Id. 1. §. 2.

Id. 1. §. 1.

Cle. Alex. Strom. lib. 6.

Families

Families ſet apart for Arms. But yet I will not ſay that *Egypt* hath been very Martial. She hath had a great many Troops well diſciplin'd and kept; ſhe hath often exercis'd them for a Show in military Services, and, as it were, had the images and reſemblances of Battles; but it is only War and downright Fighting, that makes Men Warriors. *Egypt* lov'd Peace, becauſe ſhe lov'd Juſtice, and had only Soldiers for her Defence. Being contented with her own Country, which had Plenty of all things, ſhe thought but little of enlarging it by Conqueſts. She did it after another way, by ſending her Colonies all the World over, and with them Politeneſs and Laws. The moſt celebrated Cities came to learn in *Egypt* their Antiquities, and the firſt beginning of their moſt excellent Inſtitutions. They conſulted her on all ſides in the Rules of Wiſdom. When thoſe of *Elis* had ſet up the *Olympick* Games, the moſt famous of all *Greece*, they ſought by a ſolemn Embaſſy the approbation of the *Egyptians*, and learnt from them new ways of incouraging the Combatants. *Egypt* reign'd by her Counſels, and that Government of Underſtanding appear'd to her more noble and glorious, than *that* ſhe eſtabliſh'd by her Arms. Although the Kings of *Thebes* were incomparably the moſt puiſſant of all the Kings of *Egypt*, yet they never attempted upon the neighbouring *Dynaſties*; unleſs it was to ſecure them when invaded by the *Arabians:* ſo that to ſpeak truly, they rather choſe to get from Strangers,

Plat. in Tim.

Strangers, than were willing to lord it over their own natural Country-men. But when they concerned themſelves with being Conquerors, they ſurpaſs'd all others. I do not ſpeak of *Oſiris*, the Conqueror of the *Indians*; probably that was *Bacchus*, or ſome other Hero as fabulous. The Father of *Seſoſtris* (the learned will have him *Amenophis*, otherwiſe *Memnon*) either through Inſtinct or Humour, or, as the *Egyptians* ſay, by the Authority of an Oracle, firſt thought of making his Son a Conqueror. He follow'd the way of the *Egyptians* in it, that is to ſay, with great deliberation. All Children, that were born the ſame day as *Seſoſtris*, were brought to Court by the King's Command: He bred them up as if they were his own, and with the ſame care as *Seſoſtris*, near whom they were bred. He could not give him either more faithful Miniſters, or more zealous Companions for his Wars. When he was ſomewhat grown up he made him ſerve his Apprenticeſhip in a War againſt the *Arabians*. That young Prince there learnt to be patient of Hunger and Thirſt, and brought that Nation into Submiſſion, which until then was untameable. Being accuſtom'd to warlike Labours by that Conqueſt, his Father made him turn to the *Weſt* of *Egypt*; he attack'd *Libya*, and a great Part of that vaſt Region was ſubdued. About this time his Father dy'd, leaving him in a condition of undertaking all things. He form'd no leſs a Deſign than that of the Conqueſt of the

Diod. l. 1. §. 2.

World: but, before he went out of his Kingdom, he provided for his own Security in it, in gaining the Affections of all his People by his Liberality and Juſtice, and alſo by regulating the Government with an extreme Prudence. In the mean while that he was making his Preparations, he levied Soldiers, and gave them for their Captains thoſe young Men, which his Father had caus'd to be bred up with him. Theſe were ſeventeen hundred, able to inſpire into all the Army Courage, Diſcipline, and the Love of their Prince. That done, he enter'd into *Ethiopia*, which he made tributary to him. He went on with his Victories in *Aſia*. *Jeruſalem* ſoon felt the Force of his Arms. Raſh and violent *Rehoboam* could not reſiſt him, ſo that *Seſoſtris* carry'd away the Riches of *Solomon*. God by a juſt Judgment, had deliver'd them into his Hands. He travelled into the *Indies* further than *Hercules*, or *Bacchus*, and further than ever was done by *Alexander*, for he ſubdued the Country beyond *Ganges*. You may therefore judge if the more neighbouring Countries withſtood him. The *Scythians* obey'd him even to *Tanais*: *Armenia* and *Cappadocia* became his Subjects. He left a Colony in the ancient Kingdom of *Colchos*, where the Cuſtoms of *Egypt* have always continu'd ſince. *Herodotus* hath ſeen in leſſer *Aſia*, from one Sea to the other, the Monuments of his Victories, with the proud Inſcription of *Seſoſtris*, *King of Kings*, and

Diod. ibid.

and *Lord of Lords*. There were ſome of them even in *Thrace*, and he extended his Empire from *Ganges* to the *Danube*. The difficulty of getting Proviſions, kept him from entring any further into *Europe*. He return'd, after nine years, loaden with the Spoils of all the conquer'd People. Some of them had very couragiouſly defended their Liberty; others yielded without Reſiſtance. *Seſoſtris* took care to mark out, on his Monuments, the difference of *thoſe* in Hieroglyphick Figures, after the manner of the *Egyptians*. To deſcribe his Empire, he found out Geographical *Charts*. A hundred famous Temples, erected to the honour of the tutelary Gods of all the Towns, were the firſt, as well as the moſt beautiful, Tokens of his Conqueſts; and he was very careful to publiſh in the Inſcriptions, that thoſe great Works had been accompliſh'd without any fatigue to his Subjects. He made it his Glory to govern them diſcreetly, and not to make any but his Captives to aſſiſt at the Monuments of his Victories. *Solomon* had given him the Example. That wiſe Prince employ'd only his tributary People in the great Works which render'd his Reign immortal. The Natives were ingag'd in more noble Exerciſes: *they were Men of War, and chief of his Captains*. *Seſoſtris* could not regulate himſelf by a more perfect Model. He reign'd thirty three years, and a long time enjoy'd his Triumphs, much more worthy of Honour and Glory, if his Vanity had not made

Herod. 10. *Diod. ibid.*

2 Chron. viii. 9.

Diod. 1. §. 2.

him to be drawn in his Chariot by vanquiſh'd *Kings*. It ſeems he ſcorn'd to meet Death as other Men; for being become blind in his old Age, he dy'd by his own hand, at leaſt in his own way. His Empire however did not exceed the fourth Generation. But there remain'd yet, in the time of *Tiberius*, very magnificent Monuments, which ſufficiently ſhewed the Extent of it, as well as the Greatneſs of his Tributes. *Egypt* ſoon return'd to her own peaceful Temper. It has been writ that *Seſoſtris* was the firſt, that, after his Conqueſt, ſoften'd the Tempers of the *Egyptians*, from a fear of their Revolting. If we may believe ſo, it could only be a Precaution he took up for his Succeſſors. But wiſe and abſolute, as he was, what could be ſeen, that might make him fearful of his Subjects, who ador'd him? Beſides, ſuch a Thought as that was unworthy ſo great a Prince, and it was an ill Proviſion for the ſecurity of his Conqueſts, to ſuffer the Courage of his Subjects to be lower'd and dejected. It is true, likewiſe, that that great Empire did not laſt long. It was to fall. A Diviſion was made in *Egypt*. Under *Amaſis* the blind, the *Ethiopian Sabacon* invaded the Kingdom. He treated the People of it as well, and did there as Great things, as any of the natural Kings. Never was there ſeen a Moderation like to that of his, ſince that after fifty years of a happy Reign, he returned into *Ethiopia* to obey

Tacit. Ann 2.

Nymphiod. l. 12. rer. barb. poſt Herod.

obey the Advertiſements which, he believ'd, came from Heaven. The Kingdom, thus left, fell into the hands of *Sethon* Prieſt of *Vulcan*, a religious Prince, after his way, but little of a Warriour, and who abſolutely enervated the Militia, by his ill treating of his Soldiers. From that time *Egypt* maintain'd herſelf only by hired Forces. There was found in her a kind of *Anarchy*: for there were twelve Kings, choſen by the People, who ſhar'd among them the Government of the Kingdom. Theſe built the twelve Palaces that make up the *Labyrinth*. Tho' *Egypt* could not forget her Magnificences, yet ſhe was weaken'd and divided under thoſe twelve Princes. One of them (to wit *Pſammeticus*) made himſelf *Maſter* by the Aſſiſtance of Strangers. *Egypt* was ſo far re-eſtabliſh'd as to remain pretty powerful for five or ſix Reigns. At length that antient Kingdom, after it had continu'd about *ſixteen* hundred Years, became weaken'd by the Kings of *Babylon* and by *Cyrus*, and then fell a Prey to *Cambyſes*, the moſt violent and outragious of all Princes.

Thoſe who very well underſtood the Temper of *Egypt* have confeſs'd that ſhe was not given to War: You have heard the Reaſons of it. She liv'd in Peace about *Thirteen* hundred Years, when ſhe brought forth her *firſt* Warrior, who was *Seſoſtris*. We ſee alſo that at laſt, inſtead of her Militia ſo carefully diſciplin'd and kept up, her greateſt Force conſiſted in ſtrange Troops, which is one of *Stra. l. 17.*

the moſt deplorable Defects that a State can have. But no human things are perfect, and it is no eaſy thing to have in Perfection both the Arts of Peace and the Advantages of War. 'Tis a long Continuance to have ſubſiſted for Sixteen hundred Years. Some *Ethiopians* reign'd at *Thebes* in that Interval, among others *Sabacon*, and, as we may believe, *Tirhakah*. But *Egypt* gain'd this Benefit from the excellent Conſtitutions of her State, that the Strangers who conquer'd her, rather took up her Cuſtoms than introduc'd any of their own: Thus, changing of Maſters, ſhe made no change of Government. She could very hardly endure the *Perſians*, whoſe Yoke ſhe would often ſhake. But ſhe was not martial enough to ſupport herſelf, by her own Force. againſt ſo great a Power; and the *Grecians*, who defended her, being engag'd by their own Diviſions were forc'd to leave her: So that ſhe fell back always to her Maſters, the *Perſians*; but however ſhe was reſolutely tenacious of her old Cuſtoms, and for a great while incapable of being brought off from the Maxims of her *firſt* Kings. Yet, altho' ſhe retain'd many of them under the *Ptolemies*, the mixture of the *Grecian* and *Aſiatick* Faſhion was ſo great in her, that ſhe could ſcarce be any longer known for *old Egypt*.

We muſt not forget that the times of the antient Kings of *Egypt* are very uncertain, even in the Hiſtory of the *Egyptians*. We hardly know where to place *Oſymanduas*, tho' we ſee ſo many magnificent Monuments

Diod 1. §. 2.

ments of him in *Diodorus*, and ſuch glorious Signs of his Battles. It ſeems the *Egyptians* knew not who was *Seſoſtris*'s Father, for neither *Herodotus*, nor *Diodorus*, has nam'd him. His Power, however, is more remarkable by the Monuments he has left in all the Earth, than by the Memories of his Country; and thoſe Reaſons do ſhew us, that we are not to believe, as ſome do, that what *Egypt* hath publiſh'd of her *Antiquities*, has been always ſo exact and punctual as ſhe hath boaſted; ſeeing that ſhe herſelf is ſo uncertain of the moſt ſignal time of her Monarchy.

THE great Empire of the *Egyptians* was, as it were, detach'd from all others, and, as you have ſeen, had not a very long Continuance. That which we are now to ſpeak of is more ſupported, and hath more particular Dates. *The* Aſſyrians *both antient and modern, the* Medes *and* Cyrus.

Nevertheleſs we have yet very few things certain concerning the *firſt* Empire of the *Aſſyrians:* But let us place the beginning of it at what time we will, according to the different Opinions of the Hiſtorians, you will ſee, that when the World was divided into ſeveral petty States, which the Princes rather thought how to preſerve than to enlarge; *Ninus*, who was more forward and undertaking, and withal more puiſſant than his Neighbours, ſubdu'd them one after another, and went on with his Conqueſts far up in the *Eaſt*. His Wife *Semiramis*, who, to the Ambition, that is common enough to her Sex, join'd a *Diod. lib.* 2. *Juſt.* 1.

Courage, and a continu'd Series of Counſels, which is but very ſeldom found in Women, kept up the vaſt Deſigns of her Husband, and finiſh'd the forming of that Monarchy.

Strabo 16. *Herod.* 1. *Dion. Hal.* 1. *App. innit, op.* Gen. xiv. 1, 2. Jud. iii. 8. *Plat. de. leg.* 3.

It was doubtleſs very great, and the Greatneſs of *Nineveh*, which was ſet above that of *Babylon*, ſufficiently ſhews it. But as the moſt judicious Hiſtorians do not make this Monarchy ſo antient as others repreſent it to us, ſo neither do they report it to be ſo great. We have ſeen a very long Duration of the petty Kingdoms of which he muſt have compos'd it, if it was as antient and as large, as the fabulous *Cteſias*, and thoſe who have taken it upon his Word, deſcribe it to us. 'Tis true *Plato*, a curious Obſerver of Antiquities, makes the Kingdom of *Troy*, in the time of *Priam*, a Dependance of the *Aſſyrian* Empire. But there is no notice taken of it in *Homer*; who, in the Deſign he had to advance the Glory of *Greece*, would not have forgot ſuch a Circumſtance; and we may think that the *Aſſyrians* were little known towards the *Weſt*, ſeeing ſo learn'd and ſo curious a Poet in adorning his Poem with every thing that was pertinent to his Subject, has not any where made them to appear there.

Yet, according to the Computation we have judg'd moſt reaſonable, the time of the Siege of *Troy* was when *Aſſyria* was at the height of her Glory and Power, for it was then, when *Semiramis* made her Conqueſts: But ſhe only extended them *Eaſtward*.

ward. Thoſe who are the greateſt Flatterers, make her turn her Arms on that ſide. She had too great a Share in the Counſels and Victories of *Ninus*, not to follow his Deſigns, otherwiſe ſo agreeable to the Situation of her Empire; and I do not believe it can be doubted, but that *Ninus* kept cloſe to the *Eaſt*, becauſe *Juſtin* himſelf, who favours him as much as is poſſible, makes him to end his Enterpriſes on the *Weſt* Side, at the Frontiers of *Libya*.

Therefore I know not at what time *Nineveh* could extend her Conqueſts even to *Troy*; becauſe we ſee ſo little likelihood that *Ninus* and *Semiramis* had undertook any ſuch thing; and that all their Succeſſors, to begin from their Son *Ninyas*, have liv'd in ſuch an effeminate Softneſs, and with ſo little Action, that ſcarce their Names have reach'd to our Ears, and we might much rather wonder how their Empire was able to ſubſiſt ſo long, than believe it could be ſo enlarg'd.

It was, queſtionleſs, much diminiſh'd by the Conqueſts of *Seſoſtris*; but as thoſe Conqueſts were of a ſhort Continuance, and but poorly kept up by his Succeſſors, we may eaſily believe that the Countries, which they took from the *Aſſyrians*, being us'd a long time to their Government, would naturally turn to them again: So that *that* Empire kept itſelf in great Power, and in great Peace, until that *Arbaces* diſcover'd the ſoftneſs of their Kings, ſo long conceal-ed in the Secrets of their Palaces. Then *Sardanapalus*, whoſe weakneſſes had ren-

dred

dred him infamous and contemptible, ſoon fell a Sacrifice to his Subjects.

You have ſeen the Kingdoms that came from the Ruins of that *firſt* Empire of the *Aſſyrians*; among *others*, that of *Nineveh*, and that of *Babylon* The Kings of *Nineveh* retain'd the Name of Kings of *Aſſyria*, and were the moſt Potent. Their Pride quickly rais'd them above all Bounds, ſuch had been their Conqueſts; among which is accounted that of the Kingdom of the *Iſraelites*, or of *Samaria*. It could be nothing leſs than the Hand of God and a viſible Miracle, that kept them from overwhelming *Judea* under *Hezekiah*; and it was unknown what Bounds could be given to their Power, when they were ſeen, a little while after, in their Neighbourhood to invade the Kingdom of *Babylon*, where the Royal Family was extinct.

Babylon ſeemed to be born to command all the World. Her People were full of Spirit and Courage. Always Philoſophy and the liberal Arts reign'd among them: and the *Eaſt* had not much better Soldiers than the *Chaldeans*. Antiquity admir'd the rich Harveſts of a Country which the Negligence of its Inhabitants now leaves without Culture: And its Abundance made the ancient Kings of *Perſia* look on it as a third part of ſo great an Empire. Thus the Kings of *Aſſyria*, ſwoln with an Increaſe, which added to their Monarchy ſo opulent a *City*, form'd new Deſigns. *Nebuchadnezzar*, the Firſt, thought

Xen. Cyr. 2. 1. 5.

Herod. 1.

thought his Empire unworthy of him, unleſs he could add the whole Univerſe to it. *Nebuchadnezzar*, the *Second*, prouder than all the Kings his Predeceſſors, after his unheard of Succeſſes, and aſtoniſhing Conqueſts, rather choſe to make himſelf be ador'd as a God, than to command as a King. What works did not he undertake in *Babylon?* What Walls, what Towers, what Gates, and what Circumvallations were there ſeen? It ſeem'd as if the old Tower of *Babel* was going to be renew'd in the prodigious height of the Temple of *Bel*, and that *Nebuchadnezzar* had reſolv'd to ſtorm Heaven anew. His Pride, although brought down by the Hand of God, did not ceaſe to ſpring up again in his Succeſſors. They could not endure any Power near them; and reſolving to bring all under the Yoke, they became inſupportable to their *Neighbours*. *That Jealouſy* re-united againſt them, together with the Kings of *Media* and *Perſia*, a great part of the *Eaſtern* People. Pride is eaſily turn'd into Cruelty. Thence as the Kings of *Babylon* did inhumanly treat their Subjects, whole *Countries*, as well as the chief *Lords* of their Empire, join'd with *Cyrus* and the *Medes*. *Babylon*, too much us'd to command and conquer to fear ſo many Enemies that were all languid againſt her, became (whilſt ſhe thought herſelf invincible) Captive to the *Medes* whom ſhe attempted to ſubdue, and her Pride, at laſt, prov'd her utter Ruin and Deſtruction. *Xen. Cyr.* 3. 4.

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The Fate of this great City was ſtrange, ſeeing ſhe fell by her own *Inventions*. *Euphrates* had almoſt in her vaſt Plains the ſame Effect as *Nilus* had in thoſe of *Egypt*: but to make it more commodious, there was requir'd more of Art and Labour than *Egypt* uſed for the *Nile*. *Euphrates* was not only broad and deep but direct in its Courſe, therefore rapid; yet *Babylon* through which it ran, was, as well as the *Country*, ſecured from its inundations; ſuch was the heighth and ſtrength of thoſe wonderful Walls, or Banks, made by *Semiramis*, *Nebuchadnezzar*, the *Second*, and *Nitocris*. What the great *Semiramis* began, *Nebuchadnezzar*, the Proud, might improve, but the wiſe *Nitocris* perfected them. To break the Violence of its too impetuous Waters it was neceſſary, as well for the ſafety of the *City*, as the *Plains*, whoſe Fruitfulneſs became thereby incomparable, to make it run through an infinite number of Channels and Turnings; which was done by ſinking, firſt, great and artificial Lakes on the ſides of the River, and *above Babylon*; then raiſing the ſides of its Channels in the *City* by ſtrong Works and Gates. Theſe Lakes, *Nitocris*, as prudently fill'd up again: Then undertook a work ſurpriſing and marvellous, which was to build a Stone-Bridge, for the more eaſy communication of the *City*, too far diſtant in its Parts. To do this it was neceſſary to drain ſo deep and rapid a River, by turning thoſe Waters into a vaſt and immenſe Lake,

Herod. 1.

prepar'd

prepar'd of a great depth, and whoſe Circumference was, by the loweſt Account, a Hundred and Fifty Miles; this was the work of *Nitocris*, Mother of *Labynethus*, otherwiſe called *Nabonides*, or *Belſhazzar*, the laſt King of *Babylon*. In the Channel thus drain'd, ſhe, finding the Bottom to be Sandy, and bad, ſunk a Vault, or Gallery of Communication, between the old Palace and the new one of *Nebuchadnezzar*; then turn'd again the River over that Arch, on which too ſhe founded her Bridge; and, lining the Sides of the Channel with ſtrong large Brick, ſhe made, facing to each Street, a pair of Stairs from the ſame, ſecuring the Entrance a top of theſe by Braſs Gates; and fixing a Sewer, from the River into that Lake, at a proper heighth, kept it always in due Bounds. The Diligence that was us'd herein equall'd the Grandeur of it. But yet this Queen, ſo diſcerning as ſhe was, never thought that ſhe inſtructed her Enemies how to take her City. It was by breaking up her lower Sluices of that ſame Lake, which ſhe had hollowed, that *Cyrus*, tho' he drown'd thereby the Country, drain'd the *Euphrates*; when, deſpairing of his reducing *Babylon*, either by Force, or Famine, he open'd into it from the ſides of the City that Paſſage, which we have ſeen ſo much pointed at by the Prophets. *Herod. ibid.*

If *Babylon* could have but believ'd ſhe bad been periſhable, as are all human things; and an extravagant confidence had not thrown her into downright Blindneſs; *Ibid.*

ſhe

ſhe might not only have been able to foreſee what *Cyrus* did, the remembrance of ſuch a Work as that being very freſh, but alſo, by guarding all the Deſcents, ſhe had overthrown the *Perſians* in the Channel of the River where they paſs'd. But they thought of nothing but their Pleaſures and Entertainments: they had then neither Order nor any regular Command. And ſo are deſtroy'd not only the ſtrongeſt Places, but alſo the greateſt Empires. Dread and Aſtoniſhment fill'd every place; the impious King was kill'd; and *Xenophon*, who gives that Title to the laſt King of *Babylon*, ſeems by that word to aim at the Sacrileges of *Belſhazzar*, which *Daniel* makes us to ſee puniſh'd by ſo ſurpriſing a Fall.

Xenoph. 7.

The *Medes*, who had deſtroy'd the *firſt* and chiefeſt Empire of the *Aſſyrians*, deſtroy'd alſo the *ſecond*; as if that Nation had been *appointed* to be fatal to the *Aſſyrian* Grandeur. But, at this *Second* time, the Valour and great Name of *Cyrus* made the *Perſians*, his Subjects, to have the Honour of this Conqueſt. And, indeed, it was entirely owing to this Hero, who having been bred up under a ſevere and regular Diſcipline, according to the Cuſtom of the *Perſians*, a People then as moderate, as ſince they have been voluptuous, was enur'd from his Infancy to a ſober and military Life. The *Medes*, heretofore ſo laborious and martial, at length ſoften'd through their Plenty and Abundance, as it always happens, had great need of ſuch a General.

Xenoph. Cyr. 1.

General. *Cyrus* made uſe of their Riches, and of their Name, always reſpected in the Eaſt: but he plac'd his hopes of Succeſs in the Troops he had brought from *Perſia*. At the firſt Battle *Nerighliſſar*, King of *Babylon*, was kill'd, and the *Aſſyrians* routed. To his Valour he join'd Policy; for fear of ruining ſo fine a Country, which he already look'd on as his Conqueſt, he reſolv'd to have the Labourers ſav'd on both ſides. He knew how to awaken the Jealouſy of the neighbouring People againſt the proud and haughty Power of *Babylon*, that was for invading all; and at length the Glory that he gain'd, as much by his Generoſity and Juſtice, as by the Happineſs of his Arms, having re-united them under his Standard, with ſuch great Aſſiſtances he ſubdued that vaſt Extent of Land, whereof he made his Empire. *Pol.* 5. 44. 10. 24. *Xenoph. Cyr.* 4. 5.

Thus was *this* Monarchy rais'd. *Cyrus* made it ſo Potent, that it could not very much fail of aggrandizing itſelf under his Succeſſors. But, to underſtand how it came to be deſtroy'd, we need only to compare the *Perſians*, and the Succeſſors of *Cyrus*, with the *Greeks* and their Generals, eſpecially with *Alexander*.

V. *The* Perſians, *the* Grecians, *and* Alexander.

CAMBYSES, the Son of *Cyrus*, was he, who corrupted the Manners of the *Perſians*. His Father, who was ſo well brought up in all the Arts and Care of War, took not care enough to give to the Succeſſor of ſo great an Empire an Education ſuitable to his own: and, by the common Fate

Fate of human things, too much Great-
Plat. de leg. 3. neſs deſtroys virtue. *Darius*, the ſon of *Hyſtaſpes*, when rais'd unto the Throne, brought better Diſpoſitions, and made ſome Efforts to repair the Diſorders. But the Corruption was already too univerſal: *Abundance* had introduced great Irregularities into their Manners; and *Darius* had not himſelf obſerv'd ſo juſt a Strictneſs as to be able on the ſudden to redreſs others. Every thing degenerated under his Succeſſors, and the Luxury of the *Perſians* was not circumſcribed by any Bounds or Meaſure.

But although thoſe People, then become powerful, had loſt very much of their ancient Virtue, by giving themſelves up to their Pleaſures, they had yet always kept up ſomething that was great and noble. What is there to be ſeen more noble than the Horror they had for lying, which was always accounted by them a moſt baſe and ſhameful Vice? What they look'd upon as very unworthy, next to lying, was, to live upon borrowing. Such a Life as that ſeem'd to them to be idle, ſhameful, ſervile, and ſo much the more contemptible, as it led on to lying. By a Generoſity that was natural to their Nation, they always treated vanquiſh'd Kings with great Humanity. If the Children of thoſe Princes were not able to be aſſiſtant in the Field to the Conquerours, they left them to command in their own Countries with almoſt all the Marks of their ancient Grandeur. The *Perſians* were Courte-

Plat. Alcib. 1. *Herod. lib.* 1.

Herod. 3.

ous,

ous, Civil, Liberal to Strangers, and they knew how to make uſe of them. Perſons of Merit were conſider'd by them, and they ſpar'd for nothing to gain them. 'Tis true, they were not arrived at the perfect knowledge of that Wiſdom which inſtructed how to *govern* well. This great Empire was always ruled with ſome Confuſion. They could never find out that curious Art ſo well practis'd ſince by the *Romans*, of uniting all the Parts of a great Eſtate, and making but one perfect *whole* of them. So likewiſe were they ſcarce ever without ſome conſiderable *Revolts*. Yet they had no mean Share of good *Polity*. The Rules of Juſtice they underſtood, and they have had great Kings, which have made them be obſerv'd with an admirable Exactneſs. Crimes were ſeverely puniſh'd, but with that Moderation, that in eaſily pardoning the firſt Faults, they corrected the After-Relapſes with rigorous Chaſtiſements. *Herod.* 1. They had a great many good Laws, almoſt all came from *Cyrus*, and from *Darius*, the Son of *Hyſtaſpes*. They had Maxims of *Plat. de. leg.* 3. Government, Councils order'd for the maintaining them, and a great Subordination in Eſth. i. 13. all Employments. When they ſaid that the Great Men, who made up the Counſel, were the Eyes and the Ears of the Prince; *Xenoph.* they mean that he had his Miniſters as *Cyr.* 8. we have the Organs of our Senſes, not for him to be idle, but to act by their means; and of the Miniſters, that they were not to act for themſelves, but for the

Prince as the Head, and with him for all the Body of the State. Thoſe Miniſters were to be inſtructed in the ancient Maxims of the Monarchy. The Regiſter
Eſth. i. 13. which they kept of paſt Occurrences,
Ibid. 6. ſerv'd as Rules to Poſterity. There were put down the Services which every one had done, for fear leaſt, to the ſhame of the Prince, and the great unhappineſs of the State, they ſhould continue unrewarded.
Herod. 1. It was one good way to engage particular men to the Publick Intereſt to tell them that they never were to ſacrifice for themſelves alone, but for the King, and for all the State, in which every one was concern'd with the other. One of the chiefeſt cares of the Prince was to ſee Agriculture flouriſh: and thoſe Noblemen, whoſe Government was the beſt cultivated, had a Suitable part of his Thanks. As there were Offices ſet up for the Conduct of Arms, ſo there were likewiſe ſome eſtabliſh'd to inſpect into the Country Labours: So that theſe were two Charges alike, one of which was to take care to Defend the Country, and the other to cultivate it. The Prince protected them with almoſt an Equal Affection, and made them to concur to the Weal-Publick. Next to *thoſe*, they were moſt honoured who had bred up a great many Children. The reſpect wherewith the *Perſians* were inſpir'd from their Infancy for Regal Authority was grown to that exceſs, that they mingled Adoration with

with it, and appear'd rather Slaves, than Subjects brought by reaſon to pay their Submiſſion to a legitimate Empire: This was the *Eaſtern* Temper; and peradventure the briſk and violent Nature of thoſe People requir'd a Government that was thus more firm and more abſolute.

The manner how they bred up the Children of Kings is admir'd by *Plato*, and propos'd to the *Grecians* as the model of a perfect Education. At ſeven Years of Age, they are taken from the hands of the Eunuchs to teach them how to ride on Horſeback, and to follow the Chaſe. At fourteen, when the Mind begins to form itſelf, there are given them for their Inſtructors, four Men, who are the moſt Vertuous and Wiſe that can be found out in the Kingdom. The firſt, ſays *Plato*, teaches them Magick, that is to ſay in their Language, the Worſhip of the Gods, according to the ancient Maxims, and according to the Laws of *Zoroaſtres*, the Son of *Oromaſes*. The ſecond inſtructed them how to ſpeak the Truth, and how to do Juſtice. The third taught them how they ſhould not ſuffer themſelves to be overcome by their Pleaſures, that ſo they might be always free and truly Kings, Maſters of themſelves, and of their Deſires. The fourth fortify'd their Courage againſt Fear, which would make Slaves of them, and rob them of that preſence of mind, which was ſo neceſſary for Command. The young Lords were bred up at the Gate of the King with his Children, there was particu-

Plat. Alcib. 1.

Xenoph. de exped. Cyri. Jun. lib. 1.

lar Care taken that they ſhould neither ſee, nor hear, any thing that was unbecoming; *theſe* gave the King an Account of their Conduct, and that Account which was given of theſe young Nobles, was by his Order attended with ſuitable Puniſhments or Rewards. The Youth, who ſaw them, did early, with their Virtue, learn the knowledge of both how to obey and command. And with ſuch an Inſtitution, what might not be hop'd for from the Kings of *Perſia*, and their Nobles, if as great a Care had been taken to direct them well in the Progreſs of their Age, as there always was to inſtruct them in their Infancy! But the corrupted Manners of the Nation drew them quickly into their Enchanted Pleaſures, againſt which no Education can fence. Yet it muſt be confeſs'd, that notwithſtanding the Effeminacy of the *Perſians*, and notwithſtanding the Care they had of their Beauty, and of their Dreſs, they wanted not Valour. They ſtood always much on that, and they have given very ſignal marks of it. The Military Art with them had the preference it deſerv'd, as that, under the Covert whereof all others might be exercis'd in quiet. But they never underſtood the bottom of it, nor knew what an Army could do that us'd Severity, Diſcipline, ranking of their Troops, the order of Marches and Incampments; and, to conclude, a certain Conduct, which made thoſe great Bodies to move without Confuſion, and in the beſt manner. They thought they had

Xenoph.

had all, when they had collected together a huge number of People without any choice, to go to the War with Bravery and Courage, but without Order, and who found themſelves embarraſs'd with an infinite multitude of unneceſſary Perſons, whom the King and the great Men drew after them only for their Pleaſures. For their Effeminacy was ſo great, that they would find in the Army the ſame Magnificence and Delicacies as in thoſe places where the Court made its ordinary Abode and Stay; ſo that the Kings march'd with their Wives, their Concubines, their Eunuchs, and whatſoever elſe might contribute to their Pleaſures. Their Gold and Silver Veſſels, and the beſt ſort of moveable Houſhold Goods, follow'd in a moſt prodigious abundance; and, in ſhort, all the Train that ſuch a Life requires. An Army made up after this manner, and already encumbred with the exceſſive Multitude of its Soldiers, was over-charg'd by the unaccountable number of thoſe who did not Fight. In this Confuſion it was impoſſible to move in any Regularity and by conſent; the Orders never came in time, and in any Action all went as they could, and no body could make any Proviſion or Forecaſt. And withal they muſt make but a ſhort work of it, and come rapidly, like a Torrent, into a Country: for ſuch a vaſt Body, and that greedy not only of what was neceſſary for Life, but alſo of what was ſerviceable for their Pleaſure, conſum'd all in a little time, and one can ſcarce

imagine where they could get their Subſiſtance.

And yet with this great Pomp and Ceremony did the *Perſians* aſtoniſh the People that underſtood the trade of War no better than themſelves. And thoſe who did underſtand it, found themſelves either weaken'd by their own diviſions, or overpower'd by the Multitude of their Enemies; and by that means it was that *Egypt*, as proud as ſhe was, both of her Antiquity, and of her wiſe Inſtitutions, and of the Conqueſts of her *Seſoſtris*, became ſubjected to the *Perſians*. It was no hard matter for them to conquer the leſſer *Aſia*, and alſo the *Greek* Colonies, which the Softneſs of *Aſia* had corrupted. But when they came to *Greece* itſelf, they found what they never had ſeen, a regulated Militia, well bred Commanders, Soldiers us'd to live ſparingly, Bodies harden'd to Travel, which the *Lute*, and other Exerciſes common in that Country, had made dexterous and nimble; Armies very ſmall indeed, but yet were like to thoſe vigorous Bodies that ſeem to be all nervous, and where all is made up of Life and Spirit; and withal ſo well commanded, and ſo obſervant of the Orders of their Generals, that one would think that the Soldiers had all but one and the ſame Soul, ſuch an exact Harmony and Agreement was ſeen in all their Motions.

But what *Greece* had ſtill, that was more great, was, a firm and provident Polity, that underſtood how to abandon, hazard and

and defend what was neceſſary, and, what was greater yet, a Courage, which the love of Liberty, and that of its Country made invincible.

The *Greeks*, naturally full of Spirit and Courage, had been early cultivated by Kings and Colonies come from *Egypt*, which, eſtabliſhing themſelves at the firſt in divers parts of that Country, had every where impreſs'd that excellent Polity of the *Egyptians*. From thence they learnt the Exerciſes of the Body, the Lute, Foot-races, racing on Horſeback, and in Chariots, and the other Exerciſes, which they brought to Perfection by the glorious Crowns of the *Olympic* Games. But the beſt thing which the *Egyptians* had taught them, was *Docility*, and how they ſhould form themſelves by Laws for the Publick Weal. The *Greeks* were taught how to look after themſelves, and alſo to have a regard for their Families, as they were part of a greater Body, which was the Body of the State. Parents educated their Children in this Principle; and the Children learnt from their Cradles to look upon their Country as a common Mother, to whom they belong'd even more than to their Parents. The word *Civility* did not only ſignify among the *Greeks* Humanity, Kindneſs, and mutual Deference, which made Men ſociable; but a *Civil* Man was nothing elſe but a good *Citizen*, who always conſider'd himſelf as a Member of the State, which ſubmitted to be govern'd by *Laws*, and, with *them*

conſpired to the publick good, without making invaſions upon any Man's right and property. The ancient Kings, whom the *Greeks* had had in divers Countries, as *Minos*, *Cecrops*, *Theſeus*, *Codrus*, *Temenes*, *Criſphontus*, *Euryſthenes*, and ſuch as theſe, had infus'd this Principle into all the Nation. They were all *Popular*, not at all in *flattering* the People, but in *procuring* their Welfare, and in making the Laws to be obſerv'd.

Plat. de. leg. 3.

What ſhall I ſay of the Gravity of their Judgments? What graver Tribunal was there ever than that of the *Areopagus*, ſo much had in reverence throughout all *Greece*, as that it was ſaid the *Gods* appear'd there? It has been famous from the earlieſt of Times; and *Cecrops* probably founded it after the model of the Tribunals in *Egypt*. Not any Society has ſo long kept up the reputation of its ancient Gravity; for all manner of deceitful *Rhetorick* was ever baniſh'd from it.

The *Greeks*, thus poliſh'd by little and little, thought they were able to govern themſelves, and moſt of the Cities form'd themſelves into Common-Wealths. But the wiſe Legiſlators, who were ſet up in every Country, *Thales*, *Pythagoras*, *Pittacus*, *Lycurgus*, *Solon*, *Philolas*, and many others, whom Hiſtories inform us of, took care that Liberty ſhould not degenerate into Licentiouſneſs. Laws ſimply writ, and few in number, kept the People in their Duty, and made them all concur to the Publick Good of the Country.

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The Idea of Liberty, which ſuch a Conduct inſpir'd, was admirable: For the Liberty, which the *Greeks* figur'd to themſelves, was a Liberty ſubject to the Law, that is to ſay, to Reaſon itſelf acknowledg'd by all the People. They would not have *Men only* to have the power among them. The Magiſtrates who were fear'd, during the time of their Miniſtry, became private Men, who had only ſo much Authority as their Experience gave them. The Law was look'd on as the *Miſtreſs*; it was that which ſet up Magiſtrates, regulated their Power, and, in a word, which puniſh'd their Male-adminiſtration.

It is not here neceſſary to examine whether thoſe Ideas were as ſolid, as they were ſpacious. In ſhort, *Greece* was charm'd with them, and preferr'd the Inconveniencies of an exorbitant *Liberty* to thoſe of *lawful* Subjection, though theſe in reality are much leſs. But, as every Form of Government has its Advantages, that which *Greece* got from her own, was, that the *Citizens* were ſo much the more in Love with their own Country, as they all contributed to its Adminiſtration and Government, and as every private Man might come up to the higheſt Honours.

How far Philoſophy help'd to preſerve the State of *Greece* is incredible. The more thoſe People were free, the more neceſſary was it to eſtabliſh among them Rules of good Manners, and of Society. *Pythagoras*, *Thales*, *Anaxagoras*, *Socrates*, *Archytas*, *Plato*, *Xenophon*, *Ariſtotle*, and many

many others, fill'd *Greece* with thoſe excellent Precepts. There were ſome extravagant Men that aſſum'd the Name of Philoſophers; but thoſe who were *follow'd*, were ſuch as taught them to ſacrifice their private Intereſt, and even their own Lives, for the *general* Intereſt and Safety of the State: And it was the moſt common Maxim of the Philoſophers, that Men ought either to withdraw from publick Affairs, or elſe only have reſpect to the Publick Good.

But why do we ſpeak of the Philoſophers? The very Poets themſelves, who were in the Hands of all the People, inſtruct them much more than they divert them. The moſt famous of Conquerors look'd on *Homer* as a Maſter, that taught to reign well. That great Poet, no leſs inſtructed how to obey well, and to be a good *Citizen*; he, and many others, whoſe Works are equally grave, as they are pleaſant, celeberate only thoſe Arts that are uſeful to human Life, recommend only the Publick Weal, their *Country*, *Society*, and that admirable *Civility* which we have before explain'd.

When *Greece* was thus refin'd, and look'd on the *Aſiaticks* with their Delicacy, their ſtarch'd Dreſſes and Beauty, like that of their Women, ſhe had them in the greateſt Contempt. And then their Form of Government, which was regulated only by the *Will* and Command of their *Prince*, (which was the Miſtreſs of all, even their moſt ſacred Laws) wrought an abſolute Abhorrence

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in them: From *thence* the moſt odious Object that all *Greece* had, were theſe the *Barbarians*.

The *Grecians* conceiv'd this hatred from the very beginning, and it was become as their ſecond Nature. One thing that made *Homer*'s Poetry to be belov'd, was, becauſe he ſung the Victories and Advantages of *Greece* over *Aſia*. On the part of *Aſia* was *Venus*, that is to ſay, Pleaſures, fooliſh Loves and Softneſſes; and on that of *Greece* was *Juno*, and that is as much as Gravity join'd with Conjugal Affection, *Mercury* with Eloquence, *Jupiter* and Politick Wiſdom. On the ſide of *Aſia* was *Mars* impetuous and brutiſh, that is to ſay, War made with Fury; on the *Grecian* ſide was *Pallas*, that is to ſay, the Military Art, and Valour led on by the Conduct of the Mind. *Greece* had always from that time believ'd that Underſtanding and true Courage was her natural Lot and Portion: She could by no means ſuffer *Aſia* to think of ſubduing her; for in undergoing that Yoke, ſhe knew ſhe muſt ſubject Virtue to Pleaſure, the Mind to the Body, and true Courage to a mad extravagant Force, which conſiſts only in the Multitude. *Iſoc. Paneg.*

Greece was full of thoſe Sentiments, when ſhe was attack'd by *Darius*, the Son of *Hyſtaſpes*, and by *Xerxes*, with Armies, whoſe Greatneſs ſeems fabulous, becauſe it was ſo exceſſive. Immediately each are prepar'd to defend their Liberty. Although all the Cities of *Greece* were as ſo many

many Common-wealths, yet their common Intereſt re-united them, and there were no Diſputes among them, but to ſhew who ſhould do moſt for the Publick Weal. The *Athenians* ſoon reſolv'd to leave their City to be pillag'd and burnt: and after they had ſav'd their old Men and their Wives with their Children, they put into Ships all that were capable of bearing Arms. To put a Stop, for ſome days, to the *Perſian* Army, at the ſtrait and difficult Paſſage, *Thermopylæ*; and to make 'em ſenſible what *Greece* was, a handful of *Lacedemonians* ran with their King to an aſſur'd Death, being contented that, in ſo dying, they had ſacrific'd to their Country an infinite number of thoſe *Barbarians*, and had left to their Compatriots the brave Example of an unheard of Boldneſs and Gallantry. Againſt ſuch Armies and ſuch a Conduct *Perſia* found herſelf weak, and oftentimes found, to her Loſs, what Diſcipline could do againſt Multitude and Confuſion, and what Valour was able to effect, that was conducted with Art, againſt a blind Impetuoſity.

Perſia, that was ſo many times overcome by them, had nothing left to do but to make diviſion among the *Greeks*: and the condition in which the *Greeks* found themſelves by their Victories, made that an eaſy Enterpriſe. As Fear kept them united, ſo Victory and Confidence broke that Union. Being us'd to fight and to conquer, when they thought they had nothing more to fear from the Power of the *Perſians*, they

Plat. de Leg. 3.

they fell then one upon another. But that State of the *Greeks*, and the Secret of the *Perſian* Policy wants a little further Explication.

Among all the Republicks, of which *Greece* was made up, *Athens* and *Lacedemonia* were the chief. There could not be more *Wit* than was to be had at *Athens*; nor more *force* and *ſtrength* than at *Lacedæmon*. *Athens* was ſet upon Pleaſure; the *Lacedemonian* life was hard and laborious. *They both* lov'd Glory and Liberty: but *Athenian* Liberty naturally tended to Licentiouſneſs; and *Lacedemonia*, being held in by her ſevere Laws, the more ſhe was ſuppreſs'd *within*, the more did ſhe endeavour to enlarge her Dominion *abroad*. *Athens* was deſirous alſo of Rule, but it was from another Principle. Intereſt and Honour went together. Her Citizens were excellent in the Art of Navigation; and the Sea, over which ſhe reign'd, had enrich'd her. To make herſelf ſole Miſtreſs of all Commerce, there was nothing ſhe would not attempt to ſubject; and her Riches, which had fill'd her with that deſire, furniſh'd her with ways and means how to ſatisfy it. On the contrary, the *Lacedemonians* had Money in Contempt: As all her Laws tended to make her a *Martial* Republick, the Glory of Arms was the only Charm wherewith the Minds of her *Citizens* were poſſeſs'd. From thence *naturally* ſhe was ambitious of Domination, and the more ſhe was

was above Intereſt, the more ſhe gave herſelf up to Ambition.

Lacedemonia by her regular Life was firm in her Maxims and Deſigns. *Athens* was more quick and ſprightly, and the People there were too much Maſters. Philoſophy and the Laws indeed wrought very good Effects in ſuch exquiſite Natures, but Reaſon by itſelf was not able to reſtrain them. A wiſe *Athenian*, and one who admirably well underſtood the Temper and Complexion of his Country, informs us, that Fear was abſolutely neceſſary for Minds that were ſo ſprightly and ſo free; and that there was no longer any governing of them, when the Victory of *Salamine* had ſecur'd them againſt the *Perſians*.

Plat. de leg. 3.

Then two things deſtroy'd them, the Glory of their famous Actions, and the Security, in which they thought they were. The Magiſtrates were no longer obey'd, and as *Perſia* was afflicted through an exceſſive Subjection, ſo *Athens*, *Plato* ſays, felt the Calamities of an exceſſive Liberty.

Thoſe two great Common-wealths, ſo contrary in their Tempers and Conduct, yet embrac'd each the deſign of reducing all *Greece*; ſo that they were always Enemies, and they were more ſo from the contrariety of their Intereſts, than from the Incompatibility of their Tempers.

The Cities of *Greece* deſir'd no ſuch Sovereignty or Domination of either of them: for, beſides that every one wiſh'd to be able to preſerve their own Liberty, they found the Empire of thoſe two Republicks

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too troubleſome. That of *Lacedemonia* was fierce: There was in her People, I know not what of a wild Barbarity. A Government too rigid, and a Life too laborious, made their Spirits too fierce, too auſtere, and too imperious: add to this likewiſe, that one muſt reſolve never to be in Peace under the Empire of a City, that, being form'd for War, could not preſerve itſelf but by an uninterrupted continuance of it. Thus the *Lacedemonians* reſolv'd to command, and all the reſt were afraid leaſt they ſhould command. The *Athenians* were naturally more mild and agreeable. There was nothing to be ſeen more delightful than their City, where their Feaſts and their Plays were perpetual; where Wit, where Liberty, and the Paſſions afforded every day new Spectacles. But their unequal Conduct was diſpleaſing to their Allies, and was yet more inſupportable to their Subjects: It was therefore neceſſary to ſhake off the Fantaſtry of a flatter'd People which is, according to *Plato*, ſomething more dangerous than that of a Prince corrupted by Flattery.

Ariſt. Pol. 8. 4.

Ib. 7. 14. *Xenoph. de. rep. Lac. Plat. de. rep.* 8.

Thoſe two Cities never ſuffer'd *Greece* to be at quiet. You have ſeen the *Peloponeſian* War, and the others always caus'd, or kept up, by the Jealouſies of *Lacedemonia* and *Athens*: But thoſe Jealouſies, which troubl'd *Greece*, did alſo in ſome ſort ſupport it, and prevented it from becoming a Dependance on one of thoſe two Republicks.

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The *Perſians* ſoon preceiv'd this Eſtate of *Greece*. Therefore all the Secret of their Policy was to keep up thoſe Jealouſies, and to foment thoſe Diviſions. *Lacedemonia*, which was the moſt ambitious, was the firſt to engage the *Perſians* in the Quarrels of the *Greeks*. *They* eſpous'd them, with a Deſign of making themſelves Maſters of all the Nation; and being careful to weaken the *Grecians* the one by the other, they only watch'd for the good Hour, when to overthrow them all together. The Cities of *Greece* did already, in their Wars, look only on the King of *Perſia*, whom they call'd their great King, or *the King* by way of Excellence, as if they already accounted themſelves his Subjects: but it was impoſſible for the old Spirit and Genius of *Greece* not to awaken when they were upon the Brink of falling into Servitude, and becoming a Prey to the *Barbarians*. The Petty Kings of *Greece* attempted to oppoſe the great *King*, and to ruin his Empire. With a ſmall Army, but bred up in the Diſcipline we have already ſeen, *Ageſilaus*, King of *Lacedemonia*, made the *Perſians* in leſſer *Aſia*, to tremble; and ſhew'd that it was poſſible to conquer them. The Diviſions of *Greece* were the only thing that put a ſtop to his Conqueſts: It happen'd too that when young *Cyrus*, the Brother of *Artaxerxes*, revolted againſt him, he had ten thouſand *Grecians* in his Troops, which alone could not be broken in the univerſal Rout of his Army.

Plat. de. Leg. 3.

Polyb. lib. 3. *c.* 6.

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He was killed in the Battle, and, as it is reported, by the Hand of *Artaxerxes*. Our *Greeks* were found without a Protector, in the Midſt of the *Perſians*, and round about *Babylon*. Yet victorious *Artaxerxes* could neither oblige them voluntarily to lay down their Arms, nor force them to it. They attempted the bold deſign of going through all his Empire in an armed Body, and ſo return into their own Country, which they accordingly accompliſh'd. All *Greece* ſaw then more than ever, that ſhe train'd up an invincible Militia, to which every thing was to yield; and that only her own Diviſions could ſubject her to an Enemy, who would be too weak to reſiſt her when ſhe was united. *Philip*, equally able and valiant, King of *Macedon*, a Kingdom indeed little of itſelf, but united, and where the Royal Power was abſolute, ſo well improv'd the Advantages which were given him againſt ſo many divided Cities and Common-wealths, that, at laſt, partly by Stratagem, and partly by Force, he made himſelf the moſt powerful of *Greece*; and brought the *Grecians* to unite under his Standard againſt the Common Enemy. He was ſlain at that Conjuncture: but *Alexander* his Son ſucceeded to his Kingdom, and to his Deſigns.

He found the *Macedonians* not only train'd up to martial Diſcipline, but alſo triumphant, and become, by ſo many Succeſſes, almoſt as much ſuperiour to the other *Grecians* in Valour and Diſcipline, as

the other *Grecians* were above the *Perſi-ans*, and ſuch like ſort of People.

Darius, at that time juſt ſettled on the Throne of *Perſia*, was juſt, valiant, gene-rous, belov'd of his People, and wanted neither Capacity, nor Courage, to execute his Deſigns. But, if you compare him with *Alexander*; his Wit with that piercing and ſublime Genius; His valour with the Haughtineſs and Steadineſs of that invin-cible Courage, which was the more ani-mated by the Obſtacles that he met with; with that unmeaſureable Ambition of en-creaſing daily his Name, which made him preſer the leaſt advance of Honour to all manner of Dangers, Labours, and to a thouſand Deaths: In a word, with that Confidence that made him think verily and from his Heart, that all ought to ſub-mit to him, as to one whom his Deſtiny render'd ſuperiour to all others; a Confi-dence which he inſpir'd not only into his Chiefs, but alſo into the leaſt of his Sol-diers, whom he rais'd by that means a-bove Difficulties, and even above them-ſelves; you will quickly judge to which of theſe two the Victory muſt fall; And if you add to theſe things the advantages which the *Greeks* and the *Macedonians* had above their Enemies, you will confeſs that *Perſia* being attack'd by ſuch an *Hero*, and by ſuch Arms, could no longer hold out from changing Maſters. Thus will you diſcover, at the ſame time, what ruin'd the *Perſian* Empire, and what rais'd up that of *Alexander*.

To make his Victory the more eaſy, it happen'd that *Perſia* loſt the only General that cou'd oppoſe the *Greeks*: it was *Memnon* the *Rhodian*. If *Alexander* had vanquiſh'd ſo famous and renown'd a Captain he might have boaſted that he had overcome an Enemy that was worthy of him. Inſtead of hazarding againſt the *Greeks* a general Battle, *Memnon* was for diſputing all the Paſſages with them; for cutting off all their Convoys and Proviſion; for going with a ſtrong Power to attack them vigorouſly among themſelves, and ſo force them to return and defend their own Country. *Alexander* indeed had prepar'd for them, and the Troops he had committed to *Antipater*, he truſted were enough to guard *Greece*. But his good Fortune did on a ſudden, deliver him from that Embaraſment; for at the beginning of, or in the preparations for, ſuch a Diverſion, as ſufficiently alarm'd, and already diſturb'd all *Greece*, *Memnon* dy'd, and *Alexander* ſoon brought all under his Feet. *Diod.* 17. §. 1.

That Prince made his Entrance into *Babylon*, with a Pomp very glorious and grand. After he had reveng'd *Greece*; and then with an incredible Expedition had conquer'd all the Lands of the *Perſian* Power; to ſecure his new Empire on all ſides, or rather to gratify his Ambition, and make his Name more famous than that of *Bacchus*, he went into *India*, where he extended his Conqueſts farther than that renown'd Conqueror. But he, whom Deſarts, Rivers and Mountains were not

able to ſtop, was conſtrain'd to yield to his tyr'd Soldiers, who deſir'd then ſome Repoſe. Being forc'd to content himſelf with the proud Monuments he left upon the Borders of the *Oxidraci* and *Ariaſpæ*, he brought back his Army, by another way than that he had gone, and ſubdu'd all the Countries which he found in his Paſſage.

He came back to *Babylon*, fear'd and reſpected not as Conqueror, but as a God. But that formidable Empire he had conquer'd, laſted no longer than his Life, which was very ſhort too. When he was but three and thirty Years of Age, in the midſt of the vaſteſt Deſigns, and no leſs hopes of a moſt happy Succeſs, he dy'd before he had the opportunity ſolidly to ſettle his Affairs, leaving a weak Brother, and Children very young, behind him, incapable of ſupporting ſo great a weight. But what was moſt fatal both to his Houſe, and to his Empire, was, that he left behind him Captains, whom he had taught to breath out nothing but Ambition and War. He ſaw to what Exceſſes they would riſe when he ſhould be taken out of the World. He, to retain them, and for fear he ſhould be contradicted, durſt neither name his Succeſſor, nor who ſhould be the Tutor of his Children. He only foretold them, that his Friends would celebrate his Funeral with bloody Battles, and ſo he expir'd in the Flower of his Age, full of ſad Images and Ideas of the Confuſion which would attend his Death.

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In fine, you have ſeen the Partage of his Empire, and the frightful Ruin of his Houſe. *Macedonia*, his antient Kingdom, enjoy'd by his Anceſtors for ſo many Ages, was invaded on both ſides as a vacant Succeſſion, and after it had been long the Prey of the ſtrongeſt, it went at laſt to another Family. Thus that great Conqueror, the moſt renown'd, and moſt illuſtrious, was likewiſe the laſt, of his Race. If he had continu'd peaceable and quiet in *Macedonia*, the Greatneſs of his Empire would not have been a Temptation to his Captains, and he might have left to his Children the Kingdom of his Fathers. But, becauſe he had been ſo very powerful, he was the cauſe of the Loſs of all his own; and thus you ſee what was the glorious Fruit of ſo many Conqueſts.

His Death was the only cauſe of that great Revolution. For this may be ſaid to his eternal Honour, that if ever Man was capable of maintaining ſo vaſt an Empire, although newly conquer'd, it might be *Alexander*; for the ſtrength of his Mind was equal to his Courage. The Fall therefore of his Family was not owing to his faults, tho' he had very great ones, but only to Mortality; unleſs we will ſay that a Man of his Humour, and whoſe Ambition engag'd him ſtill to new Undertakings, could never be at leiſure to ſettle things well.

Be it how it will, we learn by his Example, that beſides the Faults which Men might correct, that is to ſay, thoſe they

are guilty of thro' heat of Tranſport, or thro' Ignorance, there is an irrecoverable Weakneſs inſeparably annex'd to human Deſigns, and that is *Mortality*. Every thing may fall in a Moment by that way: Or that *Frailty*, which is inſeparable from all human things. He who knows how to preſerve and ſtrengthen a State, hath found out a higher point of Wiſdom than he, that can conquer and gain Battles.

It is needleſs to tell you in particular what deſtroy'd thoſe Kingdoms that were form'd out of the Ruins of *Alexander*'s Empire, that is to ſay, that of *Syria*, that of *Macedonia*, and that of *Egypt*. The common cauſe of their Ruin was, that they were forc'd to ſubmit to a greater Power, which was the *Roman*. If however we will conſider the laſt Eſtate of thoſe Monarchies, we ſhall eaſily find the immediate Cauſes of their Fall; and ſee, among other things, that the moſt puiſſant of all, that is to ſay, that of *Syria*, after it had been ſhaken by the ſoft Effeminacy and Luxury of the Nation, at laſt receiv'd the mortal Stab by the Diviſion of her Princes.

The Roman *Empire.*

WE are at laſt brought to the great Empire which hath ſwallow'd up all the Empires of the World, from whence hath ſprung the greateſt Kingdoms of the Earth, where we dwell; whoſe Laws we ſtill reſpect, and which conſequently we ought to underſtand better than all other Empires. Your Highneſs very well knows

I ſpeak

I ſpeak of the *Roman* Empire. You have ſeen the long and memorable Hiſtory of it in all its Courſe. But to make you perfectly acquainted with the Cauſes of *Rome*'s Advancement, and thoſe of the great Changes that have happen'd in that Common-Wealth; You are ſeriouſly, with the *Manners* and *Cuſtoms* of the *Romans*, to conſider alſo the *Times*, on which all the Motions of that vaſt Empire do depend.

Of all People in the World, the moſt fierce and hardy, and likewiſe the moſt regular in their Councils, the moſt conſtant in their Maxims, the moſt laborious, and withal the moſt patient, have been the People of *Rome*.

From all that was form'd the beſt Militia, and the moſt diſcerning Polity, the ſtrongeſt and moſt follow'd that ever was.

The Principle of a *Roman* was the Love of his Liberty and of his Country. One of thoſe things made him to love the other: becauſe he lov'd his Liberty, he lov'd his Country, as a Mother that fed him with Sentiments equally generous and free.

Under that Name of Liberty, the *Romans* fram'd to themſelves a Government, like the *Greeks*, where none ſhould be ſubject but only to the *Law*, and where the *Law* ſhould be more powerful than *Man*.

But though *Rome* began under a Regal Government, yet had ſhe alſo under her Kings a Liberty which was not ſo very conſiſtent with Monarchy. For beſides that Kings were Elective, and that

ſuch Elections were made by all the People, it was alſo in the People aſſembl'd together to confirm the Laws, and to reſolve on Peace and War. There were alſo ſome particular Caſes wherein the Kings admitted the People to have the ſovereign Judgement: witneſs *Tullus Hoſtilius*, who not daring either to condemn or acquit *Horatius*, loaded at once both with Honour for having overcome the *Curiatii*, and with Shame and Infamy for having kill'd his Siſter, ſuffer'd an appeal to the *People*. Therefore Kings had properly but the Command of the Armies, and the Authority of calling lawful Aſſemblies, propounding Buſineſſes to them, maintaining the Laws, and executing the publick Decrees.

When *Servius Tullius* fram'd that Deſign, you have ſeen, of bringing *Rome* into a Common-Wealth, he increas'd in the People, already ſo free, ſtill a greater Deſire of Liberty; and from that you may judge how mighty jealous the *Romans* were of it, when they had experimented it entirely under their Conſuls.

One would even tremble to read in Hiſtories the dreadful Conſtancy and Reſolution of the Conſul *Brutus*, when he caus'd his two Children to be ſlain before his Eyes, who had ſuffer'd themſelves to be drawn over to the dull Practices which the *Tarquins* us'd in *Rome* to re-eſtabliſh their Sovereignty there. How much were that People confirm'd in the love of Liberty when they could

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ſee that ſevere Conſul ſacrifice his own Family to Liberty! We need no longer wonder if the Efforts of the Neighbours, who undertook to re-eſtabliſh the baniſh'd *Tarquins*, were deſpis'd at *Rome*. In vain did King *Porſenna* take them into his Protection. The *Romans* almoſt ſtarv'd, let him however know, by their undaunted Reſolution, that they would at laſt die free. The *People* were more reſolute than the *Senate*; and *Rome* bravely ſhew'd that ſhe would rather receive her Enemies, than her Tyrants. *Porſenna*, being aſtoniſh'd at the Undauntedneſs of that People, and at the more than human Daringneſs of ſome private Perſons, reſolv'd to let the *Romans* quietly enjoy a Liberty, which they knew ſo well how to defend.

Dion. Halic. Lib. 5. *Tit. Liv.* 2. 13, 15.

Liberty therefore was to them a Treaſure, which they preferr'd before all the Riches of the Univerſe. You have ſeen alſo how, in their Beginning, and likewiſe forwarder on in their Progreſs, they look-ed not on their Poverty as an Evil; but contrariwiſe they look'd on it as a means to preſerve their Liberty more entire; there being nothing more free and independent than a Man that knows how to live on a little, and who, without Expectance of any thing from the Protection, or Liberality, of another, grounds his Subſiſtence only on his own Induſtry and Labour.

This did the *Romans*. To feed hardly, to labour in the Earth, to deny themſelves, to live with great Frugality and painful

painful Travel: This was their kind of Life; by this way they kept their Families, and brought them up to the like Labours.

Titus Livius was in the right in saying, there never was any People among whom Frugality, or Thriftiness, or Poverty, were had so long in Honour. The most illustrious Senators, take them as to their outward Appearance, differ'd very little from Peasants, and carry'd no Shew or Majesty but in Publick and in the Senate. At other times they were seen busy at their Tillage, and the other Cares of a Country Life, when they were sought for to command their Armies. These Examples are frequent in the *Roman* History. *Curius* and *Fabricius*, those great Captains that conquer'd *Pyrrhus*, so great a King, had only an earthen Vessel; and the former, to whom the *Samnites* offer'd one of Gold and Silver, answer'd, that he took no Delight in having them, but in commanding those who enjoy'd them. After their Triumphs were over, and they had enrich'd the Republick with the Spoils of her Enemies, they had not wherewithal to interr themselves. That Moderation also continu'd during the *Punick* Wars. In the first we find *Regulus*, the General of the *Roman* Armies, begging leave of the Senate to return and cultivate his Farm which had lain waste during his Absence. After the Ruin of *Carthage*, there are also to be seen great Examples of the first Simplicity. *Æmelius Paulus*,

Tit. Liv. Ep. lib. 18.

Paulus, who encreas'd the publick Treaſure by that of the Kings of *Macedonia*, liv'd up to the Rules of the ancient Frugality; and dy'd poor. *Mummius*, when he ſack'd *Corinth* brought to the publick Uſe only, the ineſtimable Spoils of that opulent and voluptuous City. So much were Riches then deſpis'd: The Moderation and the Innocence of the *Roman* Generals fill'd the conquer'd People with Admiration. *Cic. Offic. l. 2.*

And yet, notwithſtanding that great Love of Poverty, the *Romans* never ſpar'd for any thing that could contribute to the Grandeur and Beauty of their City. From the very beginning their publick Works were ſuch, that *Rome* hath not yet bluſh'd to ſee them, though at the ſame time ſhe beheld herſelf Miſtreſs of the World. The Capitol, built by *Tarquin* the proud, and the Temple, he erected to *Jupiter* in that Fortreſs, were worthy then of the Majeſty of the greateſt of the Gods, and of the future Glory of the *Roman* People. Every thing elſe was anſwerable to that Greatneſs. The principal Temples, the Markets, the Baths, the publick Places, the great Ways, the Aqueducts, the very common Sewers, and the Kennels of the City had a Magnificence that ſeems almoſt incredible. What ſhall I ſay of the Pomp of their Triumphs, of the Ceremonies of Religion, of Plays and Spectacles, which they gave to the People? In a Word, whatſoever could be of any Service to the *Tit. Liv. 1. 53, 55, 56. 6. 5. Dion. Hal. 3, 4. Tac. Hiſt 3. 72. Plin. 36. 15. Dion. Hal. 7.*

the Publick, and whatſoever could give the People a great Idea of their common Country, was done with as much Expence as the time would permit. Thrift and good Husbandry was only to be ſeen in private Houſes. He who increas'd his Revenues, and made his Lands moſt fertile by his Induſtry and great Labour, who was the beſt Manager and took in difficulties the greateſt Share on himſelf, was accounted the moſt free, the moſt powerful, and the moſt happy.

There was nothing at a greater diſtance from this kind of Living than Effeminacy. Every thing rather tended to exceſs on the other Hand, I mean, to Hardſhip. Alſo the Manners of the *Romans* had naturally ſomething in them, which was not only harſh and rigid, but ſavage and cruel. But they forgot nothing that might bring them under the Power of good Laws; and they were a People the moſt jealous of their Liberty that the World ever ſaw, and yet, at the ſame time, they were the moſt ſubmiſſive to their Magiſtrates and lawful Powers.

The Militia of ſuch a People could not but be very admirable, ſeeing there was ſo ready and ſo exact an Obedience join'd to reſolute Courages, and as vigorous Bodies.

The Laws of that Militia were hard, but neceſſary. The Victory was dangerous, and oft-times mortal to thoſe who gain'd it contrary to their Orders. It was a capital Crime, not only flying, throwing down their

their Arms, and going from their Ranks; but alſo ſtirring, as I may ſay, and moving, tho' never ſo little, without the Command of their General. He that laid down his Arms before the Enemy, that choſe rather to be taken, than to die glorioufly for his Country, was adjudg'd unworthy of all mannner of Aſſiſtance. Generally Priſoners were not reckon'd any thing by the *Citizens*, but they were left to the Enemy as Members cut off from the Common-Wealth. You have ſeen in *Florus*, and in *Cicero*, the Hiſtory of *Regulus*, who perſuaded the Senate, at the Expence of his own Life, to leave the Priſoners to the *Carthaginians*. In *Hannibal*'s War, and after the loſs of the Battle at *Cannæ*, that is to ſay, at a time when *Rome* was drain'd by her many Loſſes, and wanted Soldiers moſt, the Senate choſe rather, againſt their Cuſtom, to arm eight thouſand Slaves, than to redeem eight thouſand *Romans*, which would not have coſt them more than what the new Militia ſtood them in which was to be rais'd. But in that neceſſity of Affairs they aſſerted more than ever, as a Law inviolable, that a *Roman* Soldier ought either to conquer, or to die.

Cic. de. Offic. 3. *Flor.* 2. 2. *Polyb.* 6. 56. *Tit. Liv.* 22. 57, 58. *Cic. Offic.* 3.

By which Maxim the *Roman* Armies, tho' defeated and broken, fought and rally'd even to the laſt Extremity: And, as *Salluſt* obſerves, there were found among the *Romans* more Perſons puniſh'd for having fought without firſt receiving Orders, than for having loſt Ground and quitting their

Salluſt. de Bell. Catil. 9.

their Poſt: So that their Courage ſtood more in need of being ſuppreſs'd, than their fear of being excited.

To their Valour they join'd Addreſs and Invention; and, beſides their being of themſelves ſubtle and ingenious, they admirably well underſtood how to take Advantage of every thing they ſaw in other People that was uſeful any ways either for Encampments, for the ordering of their Battles, for the ſorting of their Arms; in a Word, for facilitating as well the Attack, as the Defence. You have ſeen in *Salluſt*, and in other Authors, what the *Romans* have learnt of their Neighbours, and of their very Enemies. Who knows not that they have learnt from the *Carthaginians* the Invention of Gallies, by which they have beat them; and in ſhort, that they have taken from all Nations they have known, thoſe things by which they have ſubdued them?

In fine, 'tis certain by their own Acknowledgment, that the *Gauls* exceeded them in ſtrength of Body, and yielded not to them in Courage. *Polybius* ſhews us that, in one deciſive Battle, the *Gauls*, beſides their being ſtronger in number, ſhew'd more Stoutneſs than the *Romans*, how reſolute ſoever they were; and yet we ſee in that very Action, thoſe *Romans*, inferior in all other things, to get the better of the *Gauls*, becauſe they knew how to chuſe better Arms, to rank themſelves in better order, and to make a better uſe of their time in the Fight.

Polyb. 2 *&c.*

This

This you may be able one day to ſee more exactly in *Polybius*; and you have oft-times obſerv'd yourſelf in *Cæſar*'s Commentaries, that the *Romans*, commanded by that great Man, have ſubdu'd the *Gauls*, but more yet by their Fineſſes and Stratagems in the Military Art, than by their Valour.

The *Macedonians*, who were ſo jealous of keeping up the antient Order of their Militia, form'd by *Philip* and *Alexander*, thought their *Phalanx* invincible, and they could not be perſuaded that human Wit was capable of finding any thing out that was more firm and ſtrong. And yet the ſame *Polybius*, and *Titus Livius* after him, have demonſtrated, that only by conſidering the nature of the *Roman* Armies, and thoſe of the *Macedonians*, the latter muſt be beaten, becauſe the *Macedonian* Phalanx, which was but a great four ſquare Battalion, very thick every where, could not move but all of a piece, whereas the *Roman* Army, divided into ſeveral little Bodies, was more ready, active, and diſpos'd for all ſorts of Motions.

Polyb. 17. *in excerp.* c. 24. & *ſeq.* *Tit. Liv.* 9. 19. 31. 39. &c.

The *Romans* therefore found, or elſe quickly learnt, the Art of dividing their Armies into many Battallions and Squadrons, and of forming Bodies of Reſerve, whoſe Motion was ſo proper for either puſhing on, or ſupporting what Part ſoever they ſaw to fail. Make the *Macedonian* Phalanx to march againſt the Troops that were ſo diſpos'd and order'd; that heavy groſs Machine, 'tis true, would be terrible to any Army on which it ſhould fall

fall with all its weight; but, as *Polybius*, obſerves, it can never long preſerve its natural Propriety, that is to ſay, its Solidity and Conſiſtence, and muſt confound itſelf, or rather break, by its own Motion. Add likewiſe that, being once broke it can never rally more: Whereas the *Roman* Army being divided into ſuch little Bodies, can make uſe of all Places, and get their Advantages. They unite, or ſeparate, as they pleaſe; then unrank eaſily, and come together again without any trouble. They are ready for detachments, for rallying, for all manner of turnings and changes as they ſee are neceſſary to be made, either in their whole Body, or any part of it. In a word, they have more diverſity of Motions, and conſequently more of action and force than the *Phalanx*. Therefore we may conclude with *Polybius*, that the *Phalanx* muſt needs yield to the *Roman* Army, and that the *Macedonian* muſt be overcome.

It is very delightful, to diſcourſe with your Highneſs of thoſe things you have been ſo well inſtructed in by excellent Maſters, and which you ſee practis'd under the Orders of *Loüis* the Great, in ſo admirable a Manner, that I know not whether the *Roman* Militia ever had any thing more fine and perfect. But, not to diſpute it here with the *French* Militia, I ſhall content with ſhewing you, that the Militia of *Rome*, whether you look on the Science itſelf of taking its Advantages, or ſeriouſly conſider the extreme Severity, in making

making all the Orders and Rules to be obſerv'd, I ſay, it hath by much ſurpaſs'd all that ever has been ſeen in the precedent Ages.

After *Macedonia*, 'tis needleſs to ſpeak any more of *Greece:* You have ſeen that *Macedonia* prevail'd over it, and that may teach you to judge of the reſt. *Athens* hath produc'd nothing more ſince *Alexander*'s Time. The *Etolians*, who had ſignaliz'd themſelves in ſeveral Wars, were rather ignorant than free, and rather brutal than valiant. *Lacedemonia* had made her laſt effort for War, in producing *Cleomenes*; and the League of the *Achaians*, in producing *Philophæmen*. *Rome* fought not againſt thoſe two great Captains; but the latter, who liv'd in the time of *Hannibal* and *Scipio*, by ſeeing the Actions of the *Romans* in *Macedonia*, judg'd very rightly that the Liberty of *Greece* was then upon the point of expiring, and that he had nothing more to do, but to retreat juſt at the time of its falling. Thus the moſt warlike People were forc'd to yield to the *Romans*, who, by their Courage, Arts of War and Addreſs, triumph'd over the *Gauls*, *Greeks* and the moſt refin'd and celebrated *Hannibal*. *Plut. in Philop.*

No wonder then if in all their Government they valu'd themſelves for nothing ſo much as their Military Diſcipline. They always look'd on it as the Foundation of their Empire. The Military Diſcipline was that which was firſt ſeen in their State, and the laſt that was loſt in it: ſo cloſely

was it fix'd to the Conſtitution of their Republick.

One of the braveſt things in the *Roman* Militia was, that *falſe* Valour was never commended in it. The Maxims of *falſe* Honour, which have kill'd ſuch a World of People among us were not ſo much as known in a Nation ſo covetous of Glory. *Polix* 9. 13. It is obſerv'd of *Scipio*, and *Cæſar*, the two greateſt Men of War, that ever were among the *Romans*, that they never expos'd themſelves but with all the Precaution imaginable, and when the moſt preſſing Neceſſity call'd for it. There was no Good expected from a General that did not underſtand the Care he ought to have of preſerving his own Perſon, and to reſerve the actions of an extraordinary Courage, for the moſt conſiderable Service. *Ibid.* 29. The *Romans* would have no Battles hazarded unadviſedly, nor deſir'd Victories at the Expence of too much Blood: ſo that, in ſhort, there was nothing more bold and daring, nor altogether better manag'd and diſciplin'd than were the *Roman* Armies.

But as it is not enough to underſtand War, unleſs there be a very wiſe Council to undertake it with moſt Advantage, and to keep all the reſt of the State in good Order, it is convenient you ſhould underſtand the profound Policy of the *Roman* Senate. To take it in the *beſt* times of the Republick, there never was any Aſſembly, wherein buſineſs was more maturely treated of, nor with greater Secrecy, nor with a deeper Foreſight, nor with a more general Concurrence;

rence: or, laſtly, with a greater Zeal for the Service of the Publick.

The Holy Scripture hath not diſdain'd taking notice of this in the Book of *Maccabees*, nor commending the high Prudence, and the vigorous Councils of that wiſe Aſſembly. 1 Maccab. viii. 15. 16.

As for Secrecy *Titus Livius* gives us a very eminent Example. Whilſt they were conſulting about the War with *Perſeus*, *Eumenes*, King of *Pergamus*, that Prince's Enemy, came to *Rome* to join in League againſt him with the Senate. He made there his Propoſitions in the full Aſſembly, and the matter was reſolv'd on by the Suffrages of a Body conſiſting of three hundred Men. Who ſhould imagine that the Secret could be kept, and that nothing of that Conſultation ſhould be known till four Years afterwards, when the War was ended? But what is more ſurpriſing ſtill, is, that *Perſeus* had at *Rome* his Ambaſſadors to obſerve *Eumenes*. All the Cities of *Greece* and *Aſia*, fearing that themſelves ſhou'd be Sharers in the dangers of that Quarrel, had alſo ſent theirs, and every one of them endeavour'd to diſcover a Buſineſs of ſo great a Conſequence. And yet, in the midſt of ſo many able and ſubtle Agents, The Senate was impenetrable. To have a Secret kept, there was no need of Puniſhments, nor of forbidding Commerce with Strangers under ſevere and rigorous Penalties, the Secret commended itſelf alone, by its own Weight and Importance. *Tit. Liv.* 42. 14.

'Twas a ſurpriſing thing, in the conduct of *Rome*, to ſee there the People almoſt always to look on the Senate with great Jealouſie, and yet, nevertheleſs, to refer all things to them upon great occaſions, and eſpecially in times of great Danger; then all the People were ſeen to turn their Eyes upon that wiſe Body, and to hearken to their Reſolutions, as to ſo many Oracles.

'A long Experience had taught the *Romans* that from hence came forth all the Councils that had ſav'd the State. It was in the Senate that were lodg'd the ancient Maxims, and the Wit and Spirit, as I may ſay, of the Republick. There were the deſigns form'd, which were ſeen to ſupport themſelves by their own Strength; and that, which was greater in the Senate ſtill, was, that they never took more vigorous Reſolutions, than in the times of the greateſt Extremities.

Dion. Hal. 8. *Tit. Liv.* 2. 39. It was in the worſt Eſtate of the Republick, when weak yet, and in its Birth ſhe ſaw herſelf abſolutely both divided within by the Tribunes, and preſt hard without by the *Volſci*, whom incens'd *Coriolanus* brought againſt his Country; thoſe People, always beaten by the *Romans*, hop'd to revenge themſelves having the greateſt Man of *Rome* at their Head, the moſt underſtanding and expert in War, the moſt liberal, and the moſt Abhorrent of Injuſtice; but the moſt obdurate, exaſperated, and untreatable.

able. They resolv'd to make themselves Citizens by Force; and after great Conquests, and making themselves Masters of the Campaign, and of the Country, they threaten'd to destroy every thing if they would not comply with their Demands. *Rome* had neither Army nor Men, to head them, and yet notwithstanding, in this sad Estate, and whilst all things were to be fear'd, was there seen on a sudden, to issue out that bold decree of the Senate, that they would rather all be cut off, than yield any thing to the arm'd Enemy; and that they would grant very reasonable Conditions, after he had withdrawn his Arms from them.

The Mother of *Coriolanus*, who was sent to make him flexible, among other Reasons, us'd this to him: *Don't you know the* Romans? *don't you know, Son, that you will have nothing of them, but by Prayers, and that you will neither obtain much or little from them by force?* The severe *Coriolanus* was hereby overcome: it cost him his Life, and the *Volsci* chose other Generals; but the Senate continu'd firm in those Maxims, and the Decree they made of granting nothing by Force, pass'd for a fundamental Law of the *Roman* Polity, whereof there was not one single Instance that ever the *Romans* departed from it, during all the time of their Republick. Among them, even in their worst Condition, never were

Dion. Hal. 8.

Polyb. 6. 56. *Excerpt. de Legat.* 69. *Dion. Hal.* 8. *Plut. in Philop.*

the weaker Councils ſo much as hearken'd to. They were always more treatable when victorious, than when conquer'd: So well did the Senate know how to maintain the antient Maxims of the Common-Wealth; and ſo well alſo did they know how to confirm the reſt of the Citizens in them.

From the ſame Spirit likewiſe were thoſe Reſolutions taken in the Senate, of overcoming their Enemies by open Force, rather than Tricks or Stratagems, even thoſe that were permitted in War: Which the Senate did not out of a *falſe* Point of Honour, nor becauſe they were ignorant of the Laws of War; but becauſe they deemed nothing of more Efficacy to quell a proud Enemy, than to take from them all the vain Thoughts they might have of their Forces, that ſo, when overcome, they might expect no Safety but from the Clemency of the Conqueror.

Thus was that high Opinion of the *Roman* Arms eſtabliſh'd throughout all the World. The Belief that was ſpread far and near that nothing could reſiſt them, made their Enemies to lay down their Arms, and give an invincible Succour to their Allies. You have ſeen what the ſame Opinion of the *French* Arms does all over *Europe*; and the World, ſtanding amaz'd at the Exploits of your Royal Father and Sovereign, confeſſes that it only belongs to him to ſet Bounds to his Conqueſts.

The

The Conduct of the *Roman* Senate, ſo mighty and prevalent over their Enemies, was no leſs admirable in their Conduct of the State within. Thoſe wiſe Senators had ſometimes a juſt condeſcenſion for the People; as when in an extreme Neceſſity they not only tax'd themſelves higher than others, which was uſual with them, but alſo, when they diſcharg'd the meaner People from all manner of Impoſt, adding *That the Poor paid a Tribute great enough to the Commonwealth in bringing up their Children.* *Tit. Liv.* l. 2. 9.

The Senate ſhew'd by that Ordinance that they underſtood wherein the true Riches of a State conſiſted; and ſo generous a Sentiment, join'd to the Teſtimonies of a paternal Goodneſs, wrought ſuch an Impreſſion in the Breaſts of the People, that they became capable of ſuſtaining the very laſt Extremities for the Safety of their Country.

But when the People deſerv'd Blame, the Senate gave it them likewiſe with a Gravity and Courage worthy of ſo wiſe a Body; as it happen'd in the Controverſy between the *Ardeates* and *Aricines*. The Hiſtory of it is very memorable, and deſerves here to be told you. Thoſe two People were in War for Lands which each Party made Pretenſions to; at laſt, being weary of fighting, they agreed to refer themſelves to the Judgment of the People of *Rome*, whoſe Equity was had in Reverence by their Neighbours. The Tribes were aſſembled, and the People being made *Tit. Liv.* l. 3. 71. 4. 7. 9. 10.

acquainted that thoſe Lands, pretended to by others, of right belong'd to them, adjudg'd them for themſelves. The Senate, altho' they were convinc'd that the People had in the main made a right Judgment, yet they could not indure that the *Romans* ſhould derogate from their natural Generoſity, nor that they ſhould baſely have deceiv'd the Hopes of their Neighbours who had ſubmitted to their Award. There was nothing left unattempted that could be done to hinder a Judgment of ſo pernicious an Example, where the Judges took for themſelves the Lands that were in diſpute between the Parties. After that the Sentence had been given, the *Ardeates*, whoſe Right was moſt apparent, being incens'd at ſo wicked a Judgment, were ready to revenge themſelves by Arms. The Senate without any more, publickly declar'd to them that they were as ſenſible, as themſelves, of the Injury which had been done them; but, in Truth, they could not quaſh a Decree made by the People; but that if, after that Offence, they wou'd be content to rely upon them for Reparation, which they had great Reaſon to expect, the Senate would take that Care to ſatisfy them, that they ſhould have no Cauſe of further Complaint. The *Ardeates* rely'd on their Word. It was ſuch an Affair that had like utterly to have ruin'd their City. But they receiv'd ſo immediate a Relief by the Orders of the Senate, that they reckoned themſelves very well paid for the Land

which

which had been taken away from them, and they were then ſtudying how to pay their Acknowledgments to ſuch faithful Friends. But the Senate was not ſatisfy'd until, by their making the Land be reſtor'd which the People of *Rome* had adjug'd for themſelves, they aboliſh'd the Memory of ſo infamous a Judgment.

I do not undertake here to tell you how the Senate had likewiſe done ſeveral ſuch Actions; how often they have deliver'd to their Enemies perjur'd Citizens that would not keep their Word with them, or that plaid Tricks with their Oaths; how often they condemn'd evil Councils, although they had met with happy Succeſſes; I ſhall only tell you, that that auguſt Aſſembly inſpired nothing but what was great into the *Roman* People. *Pal. Tit. Liv. Cic. de Offic. 3. &c.*

'Tis eaſy to be believ'd that by a People, ſo wiſely directed, Rewards and Puniſhments were aſſign'd with great Conſideration: Beſides that the Service and Zeal for the Weal Publick, were the ſureſt means to raiſe them up to the firſt Offices in it: The military Actions had a thouſand Recompences which coſt the Publick nothing, and which were extreamly eſteem'd by private Perſons; becauſe thereby they had conferr'd upon them that Honour which was ſo dear to that martial and warlike People. Not only a Crown of very fine Gold, but moſt commonly a Crown of Oak Leaves, or of Laurel, or ſome Herb or other that is viler

viler yet, was of ineſtimable Price among Soldiers that knew no Marks more glorious than thoſe of Virtue, nor no Diſtinction more noble than that which came from heroick Actions.

The Senate, whoſe Approbation was the ſame thing as Reward, underſtood very well how to commend and how to blame when there was occaſion. Immediately after Fighting, the Conſuls and the other Generals publickly gave to the Soldiers and to the Officers, the Praiſe or the Blame as they deſerv'd: But for themſelves they doubtfully waited for the Judgment of the Senate, which ſuffer'd not themſelves to be dazzl'd by the Happineſs of Events. Their Commendations were highly valu'd, becauſe they were given with Underſtanding; their Reprimands went to the Hearts of the Free and Generous, and kept the more Weak in their Duty. The Chaſtiſements which follow'd ill Actions, kept the Soldiers in Fear, while in the mean time, Rewards and Honours well diſpens'd rais'd them above themſelves.

Thoſe who can inſpire into Peoples Minds Glory, Patience of Labours, the Grandeur of the Nation, and the Love of their Country, may truly boaſt they have found out the moſt proper Conſtitution of State to produce great Men. 'Tis without doubt great Men that make the Power of an Empire. Nature doth never fail to bring forth in all Nations exalted

exalted Minds and Courages, but yet they may want the Aſſiſtance of being better form'd and cultivated. What form'd and compleated them were ſtrong Sentiments and noble Impreſſions, which were diffus'd in all Minds, and inſenſibly paſs'd from one to the other. What is it makes our Nobles ſo bold in fight, and ſo daring in their Interpriſes? 'Tis an Opinion receiv'd at their Infancy, and eſtabliſh'd by the unanimous Sentiment of the Nation, that a Cowardly Gentleman degrades himſelf, and is not worthy to enjoy the common Air. All the *Romans* were bred up in that Opinion; and the People diſputed with the Nobles who ſhould be the briskeſt Actors upon thoſe vigorous Maxims. Whilſt *Rome* was at Peace, the very Infancy was exercis'd in Hardſhips; there was nothing elſe heard diſcours'd of but the Greatneſs of the *Roman* Name. They were oblig'd to go to the War whenever the Republick requir'd it, and there to work perpetually, to Camp Winter and Summer, to Obey without Diſputing, to Die or Conquer. Thoſe Fathers who brought not up their Children in thoſe Maxims, as they ought, to make them capable of ſerving the State, were ſummon'd to Juſtice by the Magiſtrates and judg'd guilty of an Attempt againſt the Publick. Thus the great Men help'd to make one another ſo: And if *Rome* bred more of them than any other City whatſoever tho' of greater Antiquity,

Antiquity, it hath not been by accident; but becauſe the *Roman* State, being conſtituted ſo as we have ſeen it, was, as I may ſay, of a Temperament likely to be moſt fruitful in Heroes.

A Government, that finds itſelf thus formed, finds itſelf at the ſame time of an incomparable Strength, and never deſpairs of a Recruit. She fainted not neither when *Porſenna*, King of *Etruria*, famiſh'd them up in their Walls; nor when the *Gauls*, had burnt their City, deſtroy'd their Country, and kept them lock'd up in the Capitol; nor when *Pyrrhus*, King of *Epirus*, as full of Addreſs and Subtilty, as bold in his Undertakings, freighten'd them by his Elephants, and at firſt defeated their Armies; nor when *Hannibal*, who had been already ſo often a Conqueror, kill'd alſo above fifty thouſand, and thoſe their beſt Militia, at the Battle of *Cannæ*. 'Twas then that the Conſul *Terentius Varro*, who was but juſt come from loſing, through his own Fault ſo great a Battle, was receiv'd at *Rome* as if he had been victorious; becauſe only even in that very great Unhappineſs he did not deſpair of the Affairs of the Republick. The Senate gave him their publick Thanks for it, and then they reſolv'd, according to their old Maxims, not, though in that ſad deplorable Eſtate to hearken to any Propoſition of Peace. The Enemy was aſtoniſh'd; the People took Heart afreſh, and believ'd they

they had new Recruits in the Senates Prudence.

In fine, the Conſtancy of the Senate, amidſt ſo many Miſchiefs that happen'd then ſo thick, proceeded not ſo much from an obſtinate Reſolution that they would never yield to Fortune, as from a profound Knowledge of the *Roman* Forces, and of thoſe of their Enemies. *Rome* knew by her *Cenſus*, that is to ſay, by the Roll of her Citizens evermore exactly continu'd from the time of *Servius Tullius*; ſhe knew, I ſay, all her number of Citizens that were capable of bearing Arms, and what her expectations could be of the Youth which were growing up every day. Thus ſhe manag'd her Forces againſt an Enemy that came from *Africa*; She knew that Time would deſtroy every Man of them in a ſtrange Country, where Succours were ſo tardy; and to whom their very Victories, which coſt them ſo much Blood, were fatal. When by the Defeat at *Cannæ*, and by the Revolts that follow'd, they ſaw the Forces of the Commonwealth ſo weaken'd, that they could have ſcarce defended themſelves if the Enemy had preſs'd them, they kept themſelves up by their Courage, and, without being diſpirited for Loſſes, they ſet themſelves to watch the Motions of the Conqueror. As ſoon as ever they perceiv'd that *Hannibal*, inſtead of purſuing his Victory, for ſome time only thought how he might enjoy it, the Senate were ſecure, for they fully ſaw that

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an Enemy who was capable of breaking his Fortune, and letting himſelf be dazzl'd with his great Succeſſes, was not born to overcome the *Romans*. From that time *Rome* made great Enterpriſes every day; and *Hannibal*, as couragious and victorious as he was, could not hold up againſt her.

'Tis eaſy to judge by that ſingle Event to whom at laſt all the Advantage was likely to come. *Hannibal* ſwoln with his mighty Succeſſes, thought the taking of *Rome* was very eaſy, and therefore gave himſelf ſome Intermiſſion. *Rome*, in the midſt of theſe her Calamities, neither loſt her Courage nor her Confidence, and undertook greater things than ever. It was preſently after the Defeat at *Cannæ*, that ſhe beſieg'd *Syracuſe* and *Capua*, the one unfaithful to Treaties, and the other rebellious. *Syracuſe* could not defend herſelf, neither by her Fortifications, nor by the Inventions of *Archimedes*. The Victorious Army of *Hannibal* came in vain to the help of *Capua*. But the *Romans* forc'd that Captain to raiſe the Siege at *Nola*. A while after the *Carthaginians* defeated and ſlew in *Spain* the two *Scipio*'s. In all that War nothing fell out more ſenſible, nor more fatal, to the *Romans*. Their loſs oblig'd them to make their laſt efforts: Young *Scipio*, the Son of one of thoſe Generals, not ſatisfy'd with his having reliev'd the Affairs of *Rome* in *Spain*, carried the War home to *Carthage*, and gave the deciſive blow to their Empire.

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The State of that City did not permit *Scipio* to find there the ſame Reſiſtance as *Hannibal* found from *Rome*, and you will be enough convinc'd of that, if you do but a little look into the Conſtitution of thoſe two Cities.

Rome was in her ſtrength, and *Carthage*, which was beginning to fall, was kept up only by *Hannibal*. *Rome* had her Senate united, and that was exactly the time when that Concert was, which is ſo much commended in the Book of the *Maccabees*. The Senate of *Carthage* was divided by old irreconcileable Factions; and the loſs of *Hannibal* had been the rejoicing of *Hanno* and the moſt conſiderable part of the great Lords. *Rome*, although poor, yet bred up an admirable Militia, whoſe greateſt View was Glory. *Carthage*, enrich'd by her trading, beheld all her Citizens ſet upon their wealth, and not at all diſciplin'd in War; whereas the *Roman* Armies were almoſt all made up of Citizens; *Carthage*, on the Contrary, held it for a Maxim not to have any but ſtrange Troops, oft-times as much to be fear'd by thoſe that pay them, as by thoſe that they are imploy'd againſt. *Polyb.* 1. 3. 6. 49. *&c.*

Theſe defects came partly from the firſt Inſtitution of the Commonwealth of *Carthage*, and partly were introduc'd by Time; *Carthage* always lov'd Wealth: And *Ariſtotle* accuſes her for preferring it to Virtue. By that means a Republick tho' made for War, as the ſame *Ariſtotle* obſerves, *Ariſt. Pol.* 2. 2.

obſerves, at laſt neglected the exerciſe of it. Riches brought thither naturally a Merchandizing Republick; they lov'd to enjoy their Wealth, and thought to find every thing in their Money. *Carthage* fancy'd herſelf ſtrong, becauſe ſhe had a great many Soldiers, and never could be brought to underſtand by all the Revolts ſhe had ſeen in her latter times, that there is nothing more unhappy than a State which can be ſupported only by Strangers, in whom there can be found neither Zeal, nor Security, nor Obedience.

Polyb. 11. 27. 'Tis true, the great Genius of *Hannibal* ſeem'd to have ſupply'd and remedy'd the defects of his Republick. It is look'd on as a Prodigy that, in a ſtrange Country, and for full ſixteen Years, there ſhould never be ſeen, I do not ſay any Sedition but, ſo much as a Murmer in an Army all made up of divers People, who, without underſtanding one another, agreed ſo well in underſtanding the Orders of their General. But *Hannibal*'s Ability could not ſupport *Carthage*, when attack'd by ſuch a General as *Scipio*. *Hannibal* was recall'd, but he had with him only ſuch Troops as were weakened by their own Victories, and the Pleaſures of *Italy*, and whoſe Ruin was compleated by the Length of the Voyage. Then was *Hannibal* beaten, and *Carthage*, formerly the Miſtreſs of all *Afric*, of the *Mediterranean* Sea, and of the Commerce of the World, was forc'd to undergo the Yoke of *Scipio*.

This

This was the glorious Fruit of the *Roman* Patience: People, who harden'd and fortify'd themſelves by their ill Fortune had good reaſon to believe they might ſave all, provided they did not loſe their hopes: And *Polybius* hath very rightly concluded, that *Carthage* muſt at laſt be obedient to *Rome* by the very nature of the two Republicks.

And had the *Romans* made uſe of thoſe great Politicks and Military Qualities, only to preſerve their State in Peace, or to protect their oppreſt Allies, as they made ſuch a pretenſion to do, we muſt have commended as much their Equity as their Valour and Prudence. But when they had taſted the Sweets of Victory, they then reſolv'd to make every thing yield to them, and pretended to nothing leſs than to put firſt their Neighbours, and afterwards bring all the World, under their Laws.

To attain that end, they perfectly knew how to preſerve their Allies, to unite them among themſelves, to throw Diviſion and Jealouſy among their Enemies, to penetrate into their Councils, to diſcover their Intelligences, and to prevent their Undertakings.

They not only obſerv'd the Marches of their Enemies, but alſo all the Progreſſes of their Neighbours; and they were above all things curious either in dividing, or in counter-balancing by ſome other way the Powers that became too formi-

dable, or which put too great obſtacles to their Conqueſts.

Therefore the *Greeks* were to blame for imagining, in the time of *Polybius*, that *Rome* aggrandiz'd herſelf rather by hazard, than by Conduct: they were too fond of their own Nation, and too envious of thoſe People they ſaw rais'd above them: Or peradventure that ſeeing at a diſtance the *Roman* Empire to advance ſo quickly, without penetrating into the Councils which order'd the Motions of that great Body, they attributed to chance, as the cuſtom of Men is, the Effects of what the Cauſes were not known to them. But *Polybius*, whoſe ſtrict familiarity with the *Romans* made him get ſo far into the ſecret of Affairs, and nearly to obſerve the *Roman* Polity during the Punick Wars, hath been more juſt and equitable than the other *Greeks*; and hath ſeen, that the Conqueſts of *Rome* were the conſequence of well form'd Deſigns. For he ſaw the *Romans*, in the midſt of the *Mediterranean* Sea, to have their Eyes every where round, even into *Spain* and *Syria*, to obſerve all that paſs'd there, to advance regularly, and nearer and nearer; to ſtrengthen before they enlarg'd themſelves; not to be clogg'd with too many Affairs; to diſſemble for ſome time, and at a convenient Opportunity to declare themſelves; to wait till *Hannibal* was conquer'd, then to diſarm *Philip* King of *Macedon*, who had favour'd him; after they

Polyb. 1. 63.

they had begun a buſineſs never to be weary, nor contented, till every thing was ended; therefore not to leave the *Macedonians* a Moment.

And when they had overcome them, by a publick Decree to reſtore to *Greece*, which had been ſo long captivated, that Liberty which they never dream'd of; by that means to ſcatter on one hand Terrour, and on the other a Veneration for their Name: All theſe are enough for any one to conclude, that the *Romans* never got the Conqueſt of the World by *Puſhing*, but by Conduct.

This is what *Polybius* ſaw in the time of *Rome*'s Progreſſes. *Dion. Halicarnaſſeus*, who wrote after the eſtabliſhment of the Empire, and in the time of *Auguſtus*, hath concluded the ſame thing, in reſuming from the firſt Origine the antient Inſtitutions of the *Roman* Common-Wealth, ſo fit in their very nature to form a People invincible and made for Command. You have ſeen enough of this to enter into the Sentiments of thoſe wiſe Hiſtorians, and to condemn *Plutarch*, who, being always too great a Lover of the *Greeks*, attributed alone to *Fortune* the *Roman* Greatneſs, and to *Virtue* alone that of *Alexander*.

Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. l. 2.

Plut. lib. de fort. Alex. & de fort. Rom.

But the more of deſign thoſe Hiſtorians diſcover in the Conqueſts of *Rome*, the more Injuſtice do they ſhew in them. That is a Vice inſeparable from the deſire of Dominion, which alſo for that reaſon is

juſtly condemn'd by the Rules of the *Goſpel*. But Philoſophy alone is ſufficient to make us underſtand that force is given us to keep our own Goods, but not to uſurp thoſe of other Men. *Cicero* hath confeſs'd it, and the Rules which he hath given for making War are a manifeſt condemnation of the *Romans* conduct.

Cic. de. Offic. 3.

'Tis true, they appear'd pretty equitable at the beginning of their Republick. It ſeem'd as if they themſelves were willing to moderate their warring humour by circumſcribing it within the bounds which Equity aſſign'd. What is there more noble, and more holy than the College of the *Fæciales*, whether *Numa* was the Founder of it, as *Dion Halicarnaſſeus* affirms, or *Ancus Martius*, as *Titus Livius* will have it? That Council was ſet up to judge whether a War was juſt or no: Before the Senate propos'd it, or the People reſolv'd on it, that *Examen* of Equity always preceded. When the Juſtice of the War was known, the Senate conſulted about the meaſures how they were to have it undertaken: But firſt of all they ſent in all Formalities to redemand of the Invader the things he had unjuſtly raviſh'd, and they never went to Extremities, till after they had try'd all theſe ways of Gentleneſs and Candour. A holy Inſtitution this, if ever there was one, and which may ſhame Chriſtians, in whom *God-Man*, that came into the World the Meſſenger of Love, hath not yet been able to inſpire a due

Dion. Hal. 2. *Ant. Rom. Tit. Liv.* 1, 32.

due Charity and Peace. But what do ſignify the beſt Inſtitutions, when at laſt they degenerate into pure Ceremonies? The Charms of conquering, and of abſolute command did ſoon corrupt in the *Romans* that Right which natural Equity had taught them. The Deliberations of the *Fæciales* were only an uſeleſs Formality among them; and though they us'd towards their greateſt Enemies Acts of extraordinary Moderation and Clemency, yet Ambition no longer ſuffer'd Juſtice to prevail in their Councils.

But their Injuſtices were ſo much the more dangerous, as they knew better how to cover them under the ſpecious pretext of Equity, and as they inſenſibly brought Kings and Nations under their Yoke, under colour of protecting and defending them.

Let us add alſo, that they were cruel to thoſe who reſiſted them: Another quality pretty natural to Conquerors, who know that Fear makes more than half to Conqueſts. But is Dominion to be had at that rate, and to command is that ſo pleaſing as to make Men purchaſe it by ſuch inhuman Actions? The *Romans*, to make every place afraid of them, affected to leave in their conquer'd Towns terrible Spectacles of Cruelty, and to appear unmerciful to thoſe who would be forc'd, without ſo much as ſparing Kings, whom they inhumanely caus'd to be put to Death, after *Polyb.* 10. 15.

ter they had carry'd them in Triumph loaden with Irons, and dragg'd by Chariots as Slaves.

But if they were cruel and unjuſt for conquering, yet they govern'd the ſubdu'd Nations with Moderation. They endeavour'd to make the ſubjected People ſenſible of their Government, and they believ'd that that was their beſt means to ſecure them their Conqueſts. The Senate kept ſhort the Governours, and did Juſtice to the People. That Aſſembly was looked on as the *Aſylum* of the oppreſs'd; and the Abſtinence of their Magiſtrates was the Admiration of the World, till ſometime before thoſe Terrible Concuſſions and Violences broke in upon her from the Factions of her great Commanders, whoſe Ambition and Power became too great to leave her long a *Republick*.

She was not therefore of thoſe brutal and avaritious Conquerors, who were only greedy of Pillage, or who eſtabliſh'd their Domination upon the Ruin of vanquiſh'd Countries. The *Romans* made all thoſe whom they conquer'd, better, by cauſing Juſtice to flouriſh, then Agriculture, Commerce, and Arts and Sciences.

'Twas that which gave them the moſt flouriſhing, and the beſt eſtabliſh'd, as well as the moſt extenſive, Empire that ever was. From the *Euphrates* and *Tanaus* even to *Hercules*'s Pillars and the *Atlantick* Sea, all Lands and Seas obey'd them: From the middle,

middle, as it were the Center, of the *Mediterranean* Sea, they had all the extent of that Sea, and thereby a ready acceſs to any Part of all the Kingdoms on each Coaſt, and conſequently a free and eaſy Communication of their Empire. It is enough ſtill to aſtoniſh one when he conſiders that the Nations which at this day make ſuch great and redoubted Kingdoms, all the *Gauls*, all *Spain*, *Great Britain* almoſt entirely, *Illiricum* even to the *Danube*, *Germany* to the *Elbe*, *Africk* to its frightful and impenetrable Deſarts, *Greece*, *Thracia*, *Syria*, *Egypt*, all the Kingdoms of *Leſſer Aſia*, and thoſe which are ſhut up between the *Euxine* and the *Caſpian* Sea, and the reſt which poſſibly I may forget, or am not willing to mention, have been for many Ages but *Roman* Provinces. All the People of our World, even the moſt barbarous, have reſpected their Power, and the *Romans* eſtabliſh'd in them almoſt every where, with their Empire, their Laws and their Polity.

'Tis a kind of a Prodigy, that in ſo vaſt an Empire, which reach'd over ſo many Nations and Kingdoms, the People ſhould be ſo obedient, and that Revolts ſhould be ſo ſeldom. The *Roman* Polity had taken care of it by divers ways, which it will not be amiſs briefly to explain to your *Highneſs*.

The *Roman* Colonies, eſtabliſh'd on all ſides in the Empire, wrought two admirable Effects: The one was to diſcharge the

City of a great number of Citizens, and the moſt part of them poor: the other, to keep the principal Poſts, and by degrees, to accuſtom ſtrange People to the *Roman* Manners.

Thoſe Colonies which carry'd with them their Privileges, remain'd always attach'd to the Body of the Republick, and ſpread over all the *Roman* Empire.

But, beſides Colonies, a great many Cities obtain'd for their Citizens the privilege of *Roman* Citizens; and, being by their Intereſt united to the commanding People, they kept the neighbouring Cities in their Duty.

It happen'd at laſt that all the Subjects of the Empire believ'd themſelves *Romans*. The Honours of the victorious People by little and little were communicated to the conquer'd People; the Senate was open to them; and they could aſpire even to the Empire. Thus by the *Roman* Clemency, all the Nations were but as one People, and *Rome* was look'd on as the common Country.

What Facility did not that marvellous Union of all the People of the World, under one and the ſame Empire, bring to Navigation and Commerce. The *Roman* Alliance embrac'd all, and, excepting ſome Frontiers now and then diſturb'd by their Neighbours, all the reſt of the Univerſe enjoy'd a moſt profound Peace. Neither *Greece*, nor leſſer *Aſia*, nor *Syria*, nor *Egypt*, nor, to conclude, ſcarce were any of the other Provinces ever without War,

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till under the *Roman* Empire; and it is eaſy to conceive, that ſo general a Commerce of the Nations help'd to keep throughout the whole Body of the Empire Concord and Obedience.

The Legions poſted for the Guard of the Frontiers, by defending thoſe without, ſtrengthen'd thoſe that were within. 'Twas not the Cuſtom of the *Romans* to have Citadels in their Holds, nor to fortify their Frontiers, and I ſcarce find that that Care began, before *Valentinian* the firſt's time. Before then the Strength and Security of the Empire was ſolely plac'd in the Troops, which they diſpos'd in that manner, that they mutually aſſiſted each other. Now as it was order'd that they ſhould be always encamp'd, the Cities were not incommoded by it: and the Diſcipline did not ſuffer any of the Soldiers to diſperſe themſelves into the open Fields. By that means the *Roman* Armies diſturb'd neither commerce nor tillage. Their Camps were to them in the nature of Cities, the difference was chiefly this, that they were *here* in continual Exerciſe, their Diſcipline more ſevere, and their Command more reſolute. They were always ready for the leaſt Motion, and it was ſufficient, to keep the People in their Duty, to ſhew them only in the Vicinage that invincible Militia.

But nothing ſo much maintained the Peace of the Empire, as the order of Juſtice. The ancient Republick had eſtabliſh'd it; the Emperors and the Sages had

had explain'd it upon the ſame Foundations; all the People, even the moſt barbarous, look'd on them with Admiration; and by that principally the *Romans* were judg'd worthy to be the Maſters of the World. Now if the *Roman* Laws have appear'd ſo ſacred, that their Majeſty continues ſtill, notwithſtanding the ruin of the Empire; it was becauſe their good Senſe, which is the Miſtreſs of human Life, was ſeen every where in them, and there was no where ſeen a more delicate and fairer Application of the Principles of natural Equity.

But, notwithſtanding all that Greatneſs of the *Roman* Name, notwithſtanding her profound Polity, and all the fine Inſtitutions of that famous Republick, ſhe yet carried in her own Breaſt the Cauſe of her ruin, in the perpetual Jealouſy of the *People* againſt the *Senate*, or rather of the *Plebeians* againſt the *Patricii*. *Romulus* had ſet up that Diſtinction. It is neceſſary for Kings to have perſons diſtinguiſh'd, whom they ſhould engage to their Perſon by particular Reaſons, and by whom they ſhould govern the reſt of the People. Therefore did *Romulus* chuſe the *Fathers*, of whom he form'd the Body of the *Senate*. They call'd them ſo, by reaſon of their Dignity, and their Age. And from them afterwards ſprung the *Patrician* Families. Now, whatſoever Authority *Romulus* had reſerv'd to the People, he had put the *Plebeians* in divers reſpects in a dependance on the *Patricii*; and that Subordination, neceſſary

Dion. Hal. 2.

neceſſary to Royalty, had been preſerv'd not only under the Kings, but alſo in the Republick. It was always from the *Patricii* that the Senators were made: To the *Patricii* belong'd the Employments, Commands, Dignities, and even that of the Prieſthood: And the *Fathers*, who had been the Authors of Liberty, did not quit their Prerogatives. But Jealouſy was quickly rais'd between thoſe two *Orders*; For I need not here ſpeak of the *Roman Knights*, a third Order, as being the *Ballance* between the *Patricii* and the common *People*; theſe eſpous'd ſometimes one ſide, and ſometimes another. It was therefore between thoſe *two Orders* that Jealouſy aroſe: It was rais'd upon divers occaſions, but the chief cauſe of all, which kept it up, was their Love of *Liberty*.

The fundamental Maxim of the Republick was to look upon *Liberty* as a thing inſeparable from the *Roman* Name. A People bred up in that Mind; nay more, a People, who thought themſelves born for commanding other People, and whom *Virgil* for that reaſon ſo nobly calls a *king-like* People, would receive no Laws but from their own ſelves.

The Authority of the Senate was judg'd neceſſary for the moderating of publick Councils, which, without that Temperature, would have been too tumultuous; but at the Bottom it was the Peoples Province to give commands, to make Laws, to decide Peace and War. A People that enjoy'd the moſt *eſſential* Rights of Royalty

ty, in ſome manner were of the Temper of Kings. They were willing to receive grave Advices, but they would not be forc'd by the Senate. Whatſoever ſeemed too imperious, every thing that was too highly advanc'd; in a word, whatſoever wounded, or was likely to wound, that Equality which a free State requir'd, gave ſuſpicion to ſo nice and delicate a People. The Love of Liberty, that of Glory and Conqueſts, made ſuch Spirits very difficult to be managed, and that enterpriſing Audaucity, which made them attempt all things abroad, could not fail to cauſe diviſions at home among themſelves.

Thus *Rome*, that was ſo jealous of her Liberty, through that Love of Liberty which was the Foundation of her Government, ſaw Diviſions ſpread through all the Orders, of which ſhe was compos'd. From thence aroſe thoſe furious Jealouſies between the *Senate* and *People*; between the *Patricii* and the *Plebeians*: The one alledging always that exceſs of Liberty would at laſt deſtroy itſelf; and the others fearing juſt the contrary, that Authority, which in its own nature was always for encreaſing, would at laſt degenerate into *Tyranny*.

Between thoſe two Extremes, a People otherwiſe ſo grave and wiſe could find no *Medium*. The *private* Intereſts which made both Parties proceed a great deal farther than they ought in whatever they began for the publick good, ſuffer'd neither of them to be conducted by moderate Councils

Councils. The Ambitious and turbulent Spirits were ſtill ſtirring up Jealouſies, to make their own Advantages by them; and thoſe Jealouſies ſometimes more concealed, and otherwhile more declar'd, according to the times, but always ſtrong and violent at the Root, were at laſt the cauſe of that great Change that happen'd in the Time of *Cæſar*, and the others that ſucceeded.

VII. *The Succeſſive Changes of* Rome *explain'd.*

IT will be very eaſy to ſhew to your *Highneſs* all the Cauſes of it, if, after you have throughly underſtood the Temper of the *Romans* and the Conſtitution of their Republick, you take care to obſerve ſome certain principal Accidents; which, altho' they happen'd at ſeveral diſtant times, yet, have a manifeſt Chain of Connection in them, I will give you a collected Series of them for your greater Eaſe.

Romulus, bred up in War, and reputed the Son of *Mars*, built *Rome*, which he peopl'd with a Company of Shepherds, Slaves, Robbers, *&c.* who came to ſeek for Freedom and Impunity in the Aſylum he had laid open for all Comers; ſome alſo came that were better qualify'd, and more civiliz'd.

He bred up that People, wild in their Nature, to undertake all things by force, and by that means they got themſelves Wives.

By Degrees he eſtabliſh'd Order, and reſtrained luxurious Minds by moſt ſacred Laws, *Dion. Hal.* 2.

Laws, he began by Religion, which he look'd on as the Foundation of all States. He made it as ſerious, and grave, and as modeſt as the Darkneſs of Idolatry could then permit him. Strange Religions and Sacrifices, which were not eſtabliſh'd by the *Roman* Cuſtoms, were forbidden. Afterwards that Law was diſpens'd with; but the Intention of *Romulus* was, that it ſhould be kept, and ſomething of it was always retain'd.

He choſe out of all that number of People the *better ſort*, to form the publick Council, which he call'd the *Senate*: He made it to conſiſt of two hundred Senators, whoſe number was likewiſe afterwards augmented; and from them came the noble Families that were call'd the *Patricii*.

The Senate was to examine and propoſe all matters; ſome of them it regulated Sovereignly with the King; but the moſt general were referr'd to the People, who decided them.

Romulus, in an Aſſembly which he had call'd of all the People upon the Plain, at the Marſh *Capreæ*, where upon a ſudden aroſe a great Tempeſt, was cut to pieces by the Senators, who judg'd him too imperious; and the deſire of Independence began then to appear in that *Order*.

To appeaſe the People, who lov'd their Prince and to give a great Idea of the Founder of that City, the Senators proclaim'd that the Gods had ſnatch'd him up

up to Heaven, and caus'd Altars to be erected to him.

Numa Pompilius, the ſecond King, in a long and profound Peace, compleated the formation of their *Manners*, and the regulating of *Religion* upon the ſame Foundations which *Romulus* had laid.

Tullus Hoſtilius by ſevere Rules eſtabliſh'd the *Military* Diſcipline, and the Laws of War, which his Succeſſor *Ancus Martius* accompanied with ſacred Ceremonies, thereby to render the Militia more Sacred and Religious.

After him *Tarquin*, the Antient, to make Creatures to himſelf, encreas'd the number of the Senators to three Hundred, where they continu'd fix'd for ſome Ages; and began the great Works which were to conduce to the Publick Weal.

Servius Tullius projected the ſetting up a Republick under the command of *two annual* Magiſtrates, which ſhould be choſen by the People.

In hatred to *Tarquin*, the Proud, the *Royalty* was aboliſh'd with horrible Execrations againſt all thoſe who ſhould go about to re-eſtabliſh it, and *Brutus* made the People to ſwear to keep themſelves eternally in their *Liberty*.

The Memoirs of *Servius Tullius* were follow'd in that Change. The Conſuls, choſen by the People among the *Patricii*, were equall'd to Kings, excepting that they were *two*, who had between them a regular turn of Commanding, and they chang'd every Year.

Collatinus

Collatinus, though named Conſul with *Brutus*, as having been with him the Author of their Liberty; though he was the Husband of *Lucretia*, whoſe Death had been the cauſe of the Revolution, and intereſted more than all others to revenge the outrage which ſhe receiv'd, yet, becauſe he was of the Royal Family, he became ſuſpected and was expell'd.

Valerius, ſubſtituted in his place, at his return from an Expedition, wherein he had deliver'd his Country from the *Veientes* and the *Etrurians*, was ſuſpected by the People to effect Tyranny by reaſon of a Houſe he had cauſed to be built on an Eminence. He not only ceas'd from Building, but became ſo wholly popular, although a *Patrician*, as to make the Law which permitted Appeals to the *People*, and attributed, in ſome Caſes, to them Judgment of the *laſt Reſort*.

By that new Law the Conſular's Power was weaken'd in its Origin, and the People enlarg'd their Rights.

By reaſon of the Violences executed for Debt by the Rich upon the Poor, this People roſe up againſt the Power of the *Conſuls* and *Senate* and made that famous Retreat at the Mount *Aventinus*.

There was nothing but *Liberty* ſpoke of in thoſe Aſſemblies, and the *People* of *Rome* did not believe themſelves to be free, if they were not impower'd to oppoſe the *Senate*. They were forc'd to allow them particular Magiſtrates called the *Tribunes* of the People, which might aſſemble

Dion. Hal. 2.

assemble them, and help them against the Authority of the *Consuls*, either by Opposition, or Appeal.

Those Magistrates, to keep up their own Authority, were continually buzzing of Jealousies, and creating Divisions between those *two Orders*; and were ever flattering the People, by proposing that the Lands of the Conquer'd Countries, or the Price, that would be the product of their Sale, should be divided among the *Citizens*.

The Senate with great Zeal and Earnestness perpetually oppos'd those Laws that would be so ruinous to the State, and would have the Price of those Lands adjudg'd to be put into the publick Treasury.

The People suffer'd themselves to be conducted by their seditious Magistrates, and yet had notwithstanding so much Reason and Equity as to admire the Virtue of the great Men that resisted them.

Against those domestick Dissensions the Senate found no better Remedy than to be continually raising Occasions for foreign Wars. These prevented those Divisions from being push'd on to Extremities, and re-united those *Orders* in the Defence of their Country.

Yet, whilst Wars succeeded, and Conquests increas'd, Jealousies were still kept awake.

The two Parties, wearied by the many Divisions which threatned the Ruin of the State, agreed to the making of such Laws

as might be for the quiet of them both, and to eſtabliſh the Equality which ought to be in a free City.

Each of the Orders pretended that the Eſtabliſhment of thoſe Laws belonged to them.

Jealouſy, increas'd by thoſe Pretenſions, made them to reſolve by common Conſent to ſend Commiſſioners into *Greece* to ſearch there for the Inſtitutions of the Cities of that Country, and eſpecially for the Laws of *Solon*, which were the moſt popular. The Laws of the twelve Tables were eſtabliſh'd, and the *Decemviri*, who digeſted them, were depriv'd of the Power which they abus'd.

Whilſt every thing appear'd placid and tranquile, and that ſuch equitable Laws ſeem'd eternally to eſtabliſh the publick Repoſe, Diſſenſions ſtarted up again by new Pretenſions of the *People*, who aſpir'd to *Honours* and to the *Conſulate*, which till then were reſerved only to the *firſt Order*.

A Law to let them into them was propounded. Rather than to have the *Conſulate* thus pull'd down, the *Fathers* conſented to the Creation of *three new* Magiſtrates, who ſhould have the Authority of *Conſuls*, under the Name of *Military Tribunes*, and the *People* were admitted to that Honour.

Being contented to have their Right eſtabliſh'd, they us'd moderately their Victory, and continu'd ſome while in giving that Command to the *Patricii* only.

After

After long and various Diſputes they return'd to the *Conſulate*, and by degrees the *Honours* became common between the two Orders, though the *Patricii* were always the moſt conſider'd in the Elections.

The Wars continu'd, and the *Romans* ſubjected, after five hundred Years, the *Gauls Ciſalpines*, their principal Enemies, and all *Italy*. *App. præf. Ep.*

Then began the *Punick* Wars; and things went on ſo, that each of thoſe two jealous People believ'd they could not ſubſiſt but by the Ruin of the other.

Rome, ready to fall, was chiefly kept up, during her Misfortunes, by the Conſtancy and Wiſdom of the *Senate*.

At laſt the *Roman* Patience got the better; *Hannibal* was overcome, and *Carthage* ſubjugated by *Scipio Africanus*.

Victorious *Rome* enlarg'd herſelf prodigiouſly, for two hundred Years, both by Sea and Land, and reduc'd all the World under her Power.

In thoſe times, and after the Ruin of *Carthage*, the Offices, whoſe Dignity, as well as Profit, increas'd with the Empire, were underhand furiouſly labour'd for. The ambitious Pretenders took care only to cajole the People; and the Union of the Orders, held up by the *Punick* Wars, was broke into more than ever. The *Gracchi* put all things into Confuſion, and their ſeditious Propoſals were the beginning of all the Civil Wars.

Then began they to Arm, and by open force to act in the Aſſemblies of the *Roman* People, where before every one deſir'd only to carry it by ways legal and regular, and with Liberty of Opinions.

Yet the wiſe Conduct of the Senate, and the great Wars that then happen'd, moderated their Diſorders.

Marius, a *Plebeian*, and a great Soldier, with his military Eloquence and ſeditious Harangues, wherewith he was continually attacking the Pride of the Nobles, rous'd up the Peoples Jealouſies, and by that means rais'd himſelf to the greateſt *Honours*.

Sylla, a Patrician, put himſelf at the Head of the contrary Party, and became the Object of *Marius*'s Jealouſy.

Factions and Corruptions could do all things in *Rome*. The Love of their Country, and deference to their Laws, were quite extinguiſh'd there.

And, to compleat their Miſeries, the Wars of *Aſia* taught the *Romans* Luxury, and increas'd their Avarice.

Then the Generals began to court their Soldiers, who till that time ſaw nothing but the Character of publick Authority in them.

Sylla, in the War againſt *Mithridates*, let his Soldiers enrich themſelves, that he might the more eaſily gain them.

Marius, on his ſide, propos'd to his Aſſociates the Shares of both Money and Lands.

By

By these means being Masters of their Troops, the one, under pretence of supporting the *Senate*; and the other, under the Name of the *People*, they made a most furious War even in the Heart of the City.

The Party of *Marius* and of the People were utterly beaten, and *Sylla* made himself Absolute, under the Name of *Dictator*.

He made most dreadful Slaughters, and treated the People with Severity both in Deeds and Words, even in their lawful Assemblies.

Yet, when more powerful and better establish'd than ever, he retreated to a private Life; but it was after he had shewn that the *Romans* could endure a *Master*.

Pompey, whom *Sylla* had rais'd, succeeded to a great part of his Power. He flatter'd sometimes the *People*, and sometimes the *Senate* to get himself establish'd: But his Inclination and Interest at length fix'd him to the latter.

After his Conquests of the Pyrates, of *Spain*, and all the *East*, he became very powerful with the *People*, and in the *Senate*.

Cæsar, who was resolv'd to be, at least, his equal, turn'd to the *Peoples* side; and, imitating in his Consulate the most seditious *Tribunes*, he propos'd, with the Divisions of the Lands, the most popular Laws he could invent.

The Conquest of the *Gauls* brought the Glory and Power of *Cæsar* to the highest Pitch.

Pompey and he were united through Intereſt, and afterwards broke again thro' Jealouſy. The Civil War began to kindle. *Pompey* thought that his Name alone would carry all, and ſo neglected himſelf. *Cæſar*, active and diſcerning, obtain'd the Victory, and became Maſter of all.

He made ſeveral Attempts to ſee whether the *Romans* could be brought to bear the Name of *King*: But they only ſerv'd to make him odious. To increaſe the publick Hatred, the Senate decreed him Honours until then unheard of in *Rome*; then he was aſſaſſinated in the full Senate as a *Tyrant*.

Anthony, his Creature, who was Conſul at the time of his Death, ſtir'd up the People againſt thoſe who had kill'd him, and endeavour'd to take his Advantage of thoſe Commotions, to uſurp the ſovereign Authority. *Lepidus*, who had alſo a great Command under *Cæſar*, endeavour'd to keep it. At laſt young *Cæſar*, about nineteen Years of Age, undertook to revenge the Death of his Father, and ſo ſought all Opportunities to ſucceed to his Power.

He knew how, for his own Intereſt, to make uſe of the Enemies of his Houſe, and even of his Competitors.

His Father's Troops went over to him being touch'd with the name of *Cæſar* and the prodigious Rewards which he promis'd them.

The Senate ſignify'd nothing any longer: All things were done by Force, and Soldiers,

diers, who were at their Service that would give them moſt.

In that fatal Conjuncture the Triumvirate deſtroy'd all thoſe whom *Rome* had bred up, that were of the greateſt Courage in oppoſition to Tyranny. *Cæſar* and *Anthony* defeated *Brutus* and *Caſſius:* Liberty expir'd with them. The Conquerors, after they had got rid of weak *Lepidus*, made divers Agreements and divers Partages; where *Cæſar*, as being the more cunning, found always the way how to get the better part, and ſo gain'd *Rome* into his Intereſts, and over-topp'd him. *Anthony* in vain undertook to relieve himſelf, and the Battle of *Actium* brought the whole Empire under the Power of *Auguſtus Cæſar*.

Rome being weary and exhauſted by ſo many Civil Wars, to get ſome Repoſe, was forc'd to renounce her Liberty.

The Houſe of the *Cæſars* fix'd the Command of the Armies under the name of Emperor, and exercis'd an abſolute Power.

Rome under the *Cæſars* being more careful to preſerve than to enlarge herſelf, found it work enough to repel the *Barbarians*, in their fierce attempts to get into the Empire.

At the Death of *Caligula*, the Senate, then upon the point of re-eſtabliſhing Liberty and the Conſular Power, were prevented by the Soldiers, who would have a perpetual Head, and that *their* Head ſhould be the Maſter.

In the Revolts occaſion'd by the Violences of *Nero*, every Army choſe an Em-

peror, and the Soldiers knew that they were Maſters enough to diſpoſe of the Empire.

They carry'd it ſo that they offer'd to ſell it publickly to him that would give moſt for it. With Obedience the Diſcipline was loſt. The good Princes endeavour'd, but in vain, to preſerve it, and their Zeal to maintain the antient Rules of the *Roman* Militia, ſerv'd only to expoſe them to the Fury of the Soldiers.

The Changes of Emperors, every Army labouring to prefer their own, occaſion'd civil Wars, and horrid Maſſacres.

Thus grew the Empire weak thro' the neglect of the Diſcipline, and was utterly deſtroy'd by the many inteſtine Wars.

In the midſt of thoſe manifold great Diſorders, the Fear and the Majeſty of the *Roman* Name wax'd leſs and leſs. The *Parthians*, tho' formerly often times overcome, became now formidable on the *Eaſt* ſide, under the old Name of *Perſians*. The Northern Nations, who inhabited the cold and uncultivated Lands, drawn by the Beauty and Riches of thoſe of the Empire, were ever attempting to force their way into it.

One ſingle Man was not ſufficient any longer to ſuſtain the weight of the Empire, which was ſo vaſt, and withal ſo ſtrongly attack'd.

The prodigious multitude of Wars, and the humour of the Soldiers, who were reſolv'd to have *Emperors* and *Cæſars* to conduct them, made it neceſſary to multiply them.

The

The Empire itſelf being look'd on as an hereditary Good, the Emperors were in courſe or naturally multiplied, from the number of the Princes their Children.

Marcus Aurelius aſſociated his Brother to the Empire. *Severus* made his two Sons Emperors; the neceſſity of Affairs oblig'd *Dioclesian* to ſhare the *Eaſt* and the *Weſt* between himſelf and *Maximian*: Each of them being overcharged, reliev'd themſelves by electing two *Cæſars*.

Thro' this multitude of *Emperors* and *Cæſars*, and the exceſſive Expence, the *State* was ruin'd; the Body of the Empire diſunited, and the civil Wars were multiplied.

Conſtantine, the Son of the Emperor *Conſtantius Chlorus*, divided the Empire, as an *Heritage*, among his Children: Poſterity follow'd thoſe Examples, and there was ſcarce ever after ſeen *one* Empire.

The Softneſs of *Honorius*, and that of *Valentinian* III. Emperors of the *Weſt*, brought the Ruin of all.

Italy and *Rome* itſelf were diverſe times ſack'd and became the Prey of the *Barbarians*.

All the *Weſt* was in common. *Africk* was poſſeſs'd by the *Vandals*; *Spain* by the *Viſigoths*; *Gaul* by the *Franks*; *Great-Britain* by the *Saxons*; *Rome*, and *Italy* too, by the *Heruli*, and afterwards by the *Oſtrogoths*. The *Roman* Emperors contented themſelves with the *Eaſt*, quitting the reſt, even *Rome* and *Italy*.

The Empire reſumes ſome Strength under *Juſtinian* by the Valour of *Beliſarius* and

and *Narſus*. *Rome*, often taken and retaken fell at laſt to the *Emperors*. The *Saracens*, become powerful by the Diviſions of their Neighbours, and by the carleſſneſs of the Emperors, took from them the greateſt part of the *Eaſt*, and ſo harraſs'd them on that ſide, that they no longer took care of *Italy*. The *Lombards* there poſſeſs'd themſelves of the richeſt and moſt beautiful Provinces. *Rome*, reduc'd to Extremity by their continual Attacks, and having no defence from her *Emperors*, who were become there contemptible by their Weakneſs, and odious by their Errors, was forc'd to throw herſelf into the arms of the *French*. *Pepin*, King of *France*, paſſes the Mountains, and ſubdues the *Lombards*. *Charlemain*, his Son, at the requeſt of Pope *Adrian*, paſſes the *Alps* againſt *Didier*, King of the *Lombards*; there every thing bowed before him, *Didier* is deliver'd up, *Charlemain* made himſelf to be crown'd, and took upon him the title of King of the *French* and *Lombards*: and, in the Year eight hundred of our Lord, being choſen Emperor by the *Romans*, he founds the new Empire.

'Tis eaſy for you to know the Cauſes of the Riſe and Fall of *Rome*.

You ſee that that Kingdom founded upon War, and thereby naturally diſpos'd to encroach upon her Neighbours, had put all the World under her Yoke, and carry'd Polity and the Military Art up to the higheſt Pitch.

You ſee the Cauſes of the Diviſions of the Republick, and finally of its Fall, thro' the

the Jealouſies of the Citizens: and thro' the Love of *Liberty* puſh'd on even to an inſupportable Exceſs and Nicety.

It is likewiſe as eaſy for you to diſtinguiſh all the times of *Rome*, whether you pleaſe to conſider her in *herſelf*, or whether you look upon her in *relation to other People*; you ſee the Changes which were to follow the diſpoſition of Affairs in each time.

In *herſelf* you ſee her at the beginning in a *monarchial* State, eſtabliſh'd according to her primitive Laws; afterwards in *Liberty*, then at laſt ſubjected again to the *monarchic* Government, but by Force and Violence.

'Tis eaſy for you to conceive after what manner the *popular* Eſtate was form'd, from the beginnings it had in the times of *Royalty*, and you will as plainly ſee how, in the time of *Liberty*, the foundations of the *new* Monarchy were by ſmall footſteps rais'd and eſtabliſh'd.

For in the like manner, as you have ſeen the Project of a *Republick* laid, in the time of *Monarchy*, by *Servius Tullius*, who gave as it were the firſt reliſh of Liberty to the People of *Rome*; ſo have you alſo obſerv'd that *Sylla*'s Tyranny, though it was but very tranſitory and ſhort, diſcover'd that *Rome*, notwithſtanding her fierceneſs, was as capable of bearing the Yoke, as thoſe People whom ſhe kept under Servitude.

To know what Operation thoſe furious Jealouſies between the *Orders* ſucceſſively had, you need only to diſtinguiſh the *two* times, which I have expreſsly mark'd out

to

to you: The *one*, when the People were reſtrain'd within certain bounds by the dangers they were in on every ſide; and the *other*, when, having nothing more to fear from without, they abſolutely, without any reſerve, gave themſelves up to their Paſſions.

The eſſential Character of each of thoſe two times, is, that in the one the love of their Country and of their Laws, ſway'd their Minds; and that, in the other, all was decided by Intereſt and Force.

From thence it happen'd alſo, that, at the *former* of thoſe *two times*, the Men of Command, who aſpir'd after *Honours* by legal ways, kept the Soldiers in, and faſt to the Republick: Whereas in the *other* time, when Violence rul'd all, they only thought how to manage them to get them into their Deſigns, in defiance of the Authority of the Senate.

By that *laſt* ſort of Management War of neceſſity was brought into *Rome:* and becauſe in War, when Laws can ſignify little, Force only makes the Deciſion; it follows then, that the ſtrongeſt muſt be the Maſter, and by Conſequence that the Empire muſt return into the Power of *one ſingle* Magiſtrate.

And every thing ſo diſpos'd itſelf for this great *Change*, that *Polybius*, who liv'd in the moſt flouriſhing time of the Republick, foreſaw by the diſpoſition only of affairs, that the Eſtate of *Rome* would at length return into *Monarchy*.

Polyb. 7. & *ſeq.* 41. & *ſeq.*

The reaſon of that *Change* was, becauſe the Diviſions between the *Orders* could not be

be quell'd by the *Romans*, without the Authority of an *abſolute* Maſter; and, on the other hand, *Liberty* was a thing too much doated on to be ever voluntarily abandoned. It was neceſſary therefore by little and little to weaken it upon ſpecious Pretexts, and ſo by that means make it capable of being ruin'd by open Force.

Craft and Deluſion, as *Ariſtotle* has obſerv'd, muſt begin by flattering the People, and muſt naturally be follow'd by Violence.

But from thence they muſt fall into another, the greateſt, Evil, the Power of the Soldiers, a miſchief never to be warded off in ſuch a State.

In fine, *that* Monarchy, which the *Cæſars* form'd, being rais'd by Arms, it was neceſſary it ſhould be all Military; and therefore it was eſtabliſh'd under the name of *Emperor*, a proper Title, and natural for *commanding* of Armies.

Hereby you may ſee, that as the Republick had its inevitable weak ſide, that is to ſay, *Jealouſy* between the People and the Senate: So likewiſe had the Monarchy of the *Cæſars* its *Foible*; and that was the *Licentiouſneſs* of the Soldiers, who had made them.

For it was impoſſible that the Soldiers, who had chang'd the Government, and ſet up Emperors, ſhould be long before they perceiv'd that it was effectually themſelves who diſpos'd of the Empire.

You may now add to the times, that you have already obſerv'd, *thoſe*, which point out to you the State and Change of the Militia:

Militia: *That*, when it was ſubjected and fix'd to the Senate, and People of *Rome*; *that*, when it was fix'd to the Generals only; *that*, when it was rais'd to the abſolute Power under the military Titles of *Emperors*; *that*, when being in a manner the Miſtreſs of her own *Emperors*, whom ſhe created, ſhe made them, and unmade them, as ſhe had a Mind. And from thence happen'd the outragious Seditions, the Diſorders, and the Wars which you have ſeen; from thence, in a Word, came the ruin of the Militia too with that of the Empire.

Such were the remarkable Times, which the *Changes* of the State of *Rome*, conſider'd in *herſelf*, make the more obſervable to us. Thoſe which diſcover them to us in *reference to other People*, are as eaſily diſcernible.

There was a *Time*, when ſhe fought againſt her *Equals*, and when ſhe was in danger. It laſted a little above *Five* hundre'd Years, and ended with the Ruin of the *Gauls* in *Italy*, and of the Empire of the *Carthaginians*.

A *Time*, when ſhe fought, and, being *ſuperior*, was without danger, how great ſoever the Wars were that ſhe undertook. It laſted *two* hundred Years, and came down as far as the Eſtabliſhment of the Empire of the *Cæſars*.

A *Time*, when ſhe kept up her Empire and Majeſty. It laſted *four* hundred Years, and ended in the Reign of *Theodoſius*, the Great.

And in a Word, a *Time*, when the Empire, being wounded on all Parts fell away by

by little and little. That Eſtate, which laſted alſo *Three* hundred Years, began in the Children of *Theodoſius*, and ended at laſt in *Charlemain*.

I am not ignorant that your *Highneſs* might add to the cauſes of the ruin of *Rome*, many *particular* Accidents. The Severities of the Creditors towards their Debtors ſtirr'd up very great and frequent Seditions and Tumults. The prodigious number of Gladiators and Slaves, wherewith *Rome* and *Italy* were over-charg'd, caus'd many horrible Violences, and alſo bloody Wars. *Rome*, being quite ſpent with ſo many civil and foreign Wars, made ſo many new Citizens, either out of Faction, or unjuſt prejudices, that ſhe could ſcarce know herſelf amidſt that vaſt number of *Strangers*, whom ſhe had naturaliz'd. The Senate was fill'd with *Barbarians*; the *Roman* Blood was no longer pure; nor was the love of their *Country*, by which *Rome* was rais'd above all the People in the World, any longer natural to thoſe Citizens that came from abroad, and the reſt were ſpoiled by the *Mixture*. Partialities abounded with that monſtrous Multiplicity of *new* Citizens, and the turbulent Spirits there found out new Ways to embroil and ruin her.

In the mean while the number of the Poor encreas'd without end, through the Luxury, Debauches, and Idleneſs, that was encourag'd. Thoſe, who ſaw themſelves ruin'd, had no refuge but in Seditions, and, in every caſe, they were little concern'd, ſince that all ſhould be deſtroy'd with themſelves.

You

You know what caus'd *Cataline*'s Conſpiracy? The *Grandees*, who were ambitious, and the *miſerable*, who had nothing to loſe, were ever wanting a *Change*. Thoſe two ſorts of Citizens prevail'd in *Rome*; and the Coparcen'd State, which alone holds all in Balance in *popular* States, being the weakeſt, the Republick muſt of neceſſity fall.

To that alſo may be added the particular Temper and Genius of thoſe who were the cauſe of thoſe great Commotions: I mean the *Gracchi*, *Marius*, *Sylla*, *Pompey*, *Julius Cæſar*, *Anthony*, and *Auguſtus*. I have obſerv'd ſomething of them, but I apply'd myſelf chiefly to diſcover to you the *univerſal* Cauſes, and the true Root of the Evil; that is to ſay, that *Jealouſy* between the *two Orders*, of which it was very requiſite you ſhould conſider all the Conſequences.

But your *Highneſs* may pleaſe to remember, that that long Chain of *particular* Cauſes, which make and unmake Empires, depend upon the ſecret Orders and Decrees of the *Divine* Providence. *God*, that ſitteth in the higheſt Heavens, holds the Reins of all the Kingdoms. He hath all Hearts in his Hands; ſometimes he reſtrains the Paſſions; ſometimes again he lets them looſe at full rage, and by that he ſtirs up all Mankind. Is he pleas'd to make Conquerors? He cauſes a Dread to march before them, and at the ſame time inſpires them and their Soldiers with an invincible Boldneſs. Is he pleas'd to make Legiſlators? he ſends them his Spirit of Wiſdom and Foreſight, he

cauſes

cauſes them to prevent the Evils which threaten the State, and to lay the Foundations of publick Tranquility. He knows that human Wiſdom is always ſhort in ſome place; he enlightens it, he opens the Eyes of the Underſtanding: at other times he abandons them to their own Ignorances; he blinds the Judgment, he precipitates it, and confounds it with itſelf: Human Wiſdom is perplex'd and embaraſs'd in its own Subtilties; and its own Precautions are ſo many Snares to it. *God* by theſe means exerciſes his fearful Judgments, according to the Rules of his Juſtice, which are always infallible. 'Tis *he*, that prepares Effects in the moſt diſtant Cauſes, and who ſtrikes thoſe fatal Blows, that reach ſo far. When he is pleas'd to let go the latter, and to overturn Empires, every thing is weak and irregular in their Councils. *Egypt*, formerly ſo wiſe, goes ſtaggering, reeling, and as it were beſotted, becauſe the *Lord* hath ſhed the Spirit of Dizzineſs and Confuſion in all her Councils: She no longer knows what ſhe does, ſhe is loſt to herſelf. But, that Men may not herein be deceiv'd, *God* re-unites, when he ſeeth good, the ſtraggling Senſes; and he that inſulted over the Blindneſs of others, falls himſelf into more *Egyptian* Darkneſs, and often times without any thing elſe, to confound his Senſe and Underſtanding, than his too long Proſperities.

Thus it is that *God* reigneth over all People. Let us no longer talk of *Chance* or *Fortune*, or ſpeak of it only as a Name

wherewith we conceal our Ignorance. That which is *Chance* in reſpect of our uncertain Councils, is a concerted Deſign in a higher Council; that is to ſay, in that eternal Council, which circumſcribes all Cauſes and all Effects in one and the ſame Order. Thus all concurs to the ſame end, and it is for want of underſtanding this, the grand Cauſe of all, that we think we find ſo much of *Chance* or of Irregularity, in *particular* Accidents and Emergencies.

By that is verify'd the Saying of the Apoſtle, that *God is the bleſſed and only Potentate, the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords. Bleſſed*, whoſe repoſe is unalterable; who ſeeth every thing to change without changing himſelf, and who makes all Changes by an immutable Council; who gives, and who takes away, Power; who transfers it from one Man to another, from one Houſe to another, from one People to another, to ſhew that they have it only by way of Loan, and that it is he alone, in whom it naturally reſides.

1 Tim. vi. 15.

Wherefore all Governors find themſelves the Subjects of a greater Power. They act more or leſs than they think for, and their Councils have ever more had unforeſeen Effects.

They neither are Maſters of the Diſpoſitions which Ages paſt have made in their Affairs, nor can they foreſee what Courſe the times to come will take, ſo far are they from being able to force it. *He* alone holds all things in his Hands, who knows the Name of that which is, and that which

which is not yet, who preſides at all times, and anticipates all Councils.

Alexander little thought he labour'd for his Captains, nor that he ruin'd his Houſe when he gain'd his Conqueſt. When *Brutus* animated the *Romans* with ſuch an exceſſive Love of Liberty, he as little thought he was caſting into their Minds the Principle of that unbridled and maſterleſs *Licentiouſneſs*, by which the *Tyranny* he deſign'd to deſtroy, was one day to be re-eſtabliſh'd with greater Severity than under the *Tarquins*. When the *Cæſars* flatter'd the Soldiers, they had no deſigns of giving Maſters to their Succeſſors and to the Empire. In a Word, there is no human Power but what, do what it can, ſerves for other Deſigns than it aims at at preſent. *God* alone knows how to bring about all things according to his own Will. Wherefore every thing is ſurpriſing, if we only look to *particular* Cauſes, and yet nevertheleſs every thing goes on in an orderly manner. This Diſcourſe makes you ſee it clearly, and, not to ſpeak of *other* Empires, you ſee by how many unforeſeen Councils, but yet always connected in themſelves, the Fortune of *Rome* hath been carried on from *Romulus* down to *Charlemain*.

Your *Highneſs* might perhaps have thought I ſhould have told you ſomewhat more of your own Country, and of *Charlemain*, who was the Founder of the *new* Empire. But, beſides that *his* Hiſtory makes a part of that of *France*, which you yourſelf have already ſo far proceeded in and wrote,

I ſhall reſerve that to another Diſcourſe, wherein I ſhall be neceſſarily oblig'd to ſpeak to you of *France*, and of *that* Conqueror, who being equal in Valour to thoſe which Antiquity hath the moſt boaſted of, doth yet exceed them in Piety, in Wiſdom, and in Juſtice.

That ſame Diſcourſe ſhall diſcover to you the Cauſes of the wonderful Succeſſes of *Mahomet* and his Succeſſors. *That* Empire, which began *Two* hundred Years before *Charlemain*, may find its place in that Diſcourſe; I thought it would be much better to ſhew you, in one continu'd Series, its Beginning and its Declenſion.

So that I have no more to tell you in this *firſt* Part of my *Univerſal* Hiſtory. You will next obſerve the Progreſs of *Religion*, and that of the great Empires down to *Charlemain*.

Here you will ſee almoſt all fall of themſelves, and *Religion* only ſupport itſelf by its own Strength, and will eaſily then diſcern what is *ſolid* Grandeur, and where a wiſe and conſiderate Man is to place all his Hopes.

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